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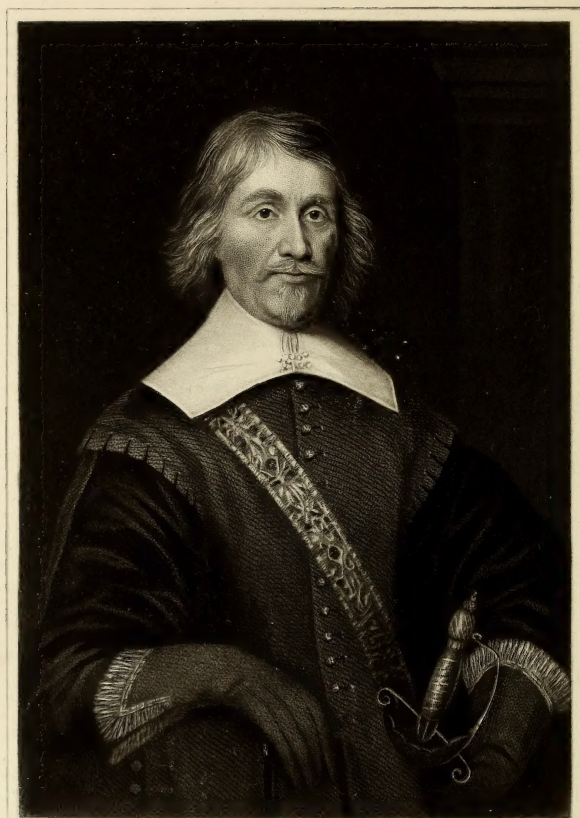
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

v. IV

Ser. I

1858-1860.

SELECTED FROM THE RECORDS.



BOSTON :

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LX.

BOSTON:

PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON AND SON,

22, SCHOOL STREET.

PREFATORY NOTE.

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THIS volume embraces the Proceedings of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY during the period of two years, — from the Annual Meeting in April, 1858, to the Annual Meeting in April, 1860.

For the engraving of Sir RICHARD SALTONSTALL from a portrait by REMBRANDT, — a fine copy of which was presented to the Society by CHARLES SANDERS, Esq., — we are indebted to LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Esq., a Resident Member of the Society. The Portrait of PRESCOTT was engraved expressly for this volume through the liberality of his son-in-law, JAMES LAWRENCE, Esq.

The publication of the Society's transactions, beginning with the year 1855, having been now brought down to the present date, can henceforth keep pace with the successive meetings.

CHANDLER ROBBINS, } *Committee of*
GEORGE LIVERMORE, } *Publication.*

BOSTON, March 31, 1860.

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IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ELECTION.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 8, 1858.

THE SOCIETY held their annual meeting, April 8, 1858, at their rooms in Tremont Street, Boston; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian communicated donations from the City of Boston; the Howard Association, Norfolk, Va.; the Maryland Historical Society; the Nashville Chamber of Commerce; the New-York State Agricultural Society; General J. Watts De Peyster; Rev. William B. Sprague, D.D.; John E. Ward, Esq.; Benjamin R. Winthrop, Esq.; William Winthrop, Esq.; C. C. Haven, Esq.; S. F. Barstow, Esq.; Hon. S. H. Walley; George Gardner, Esq.; Rev. J. A. Vinton; Messrs. Bangs Brothers and Co.; and S. S. and W. Wood; also from Messrs. Bowditch, Hedge, Robbins, Savage, Sibley, and Wheatland, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary communicated a correspondence between himself and the Executive of Penn-

sylvania; also a letter of acceptance from Hon. Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester.

The President announced the publication of a new volume of the Society's Collections; being vol. iv. of the Fourth Series. Whereupon, on motion of Mr. ADAMS, it was voted, —

That the thanks of the Society be given to the Hon. Richard Frothingham, jun., and the gentlemen associated with him on the Publishing Committee, for their valuable and highly satisfactory services in the preparation and publication of the volume which they have this day added to the Society's Collections.

The President communicated a letter from Leverett Saltonstall, Esq., accompanying and presenting to the Society a highly finished portrait of his ancestor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, copied from an original by Rembrandt, painted in 1644, — a gift of Charles Sanders, Esq.

Mr. Saltonstall's letter was as follows: —

BOSTON, April 7, 1858.

To the Hon. R. C. WINTHROP,

President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have sent to the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society, at the request of my uncle, Mr. Charles Sanders of Cambridge, a copy of the portrait of Sir Richard Saltonstall.

The original portrait, painted by Rembrandt in the year 1644 (Sir Richard being ambassador to Holland at the time), is a most admirable work of art. He was, as you are aware, the first-named associate of the six original patentees of Massachusetts; one of the first assistants; and with Viscount Say and Seal, Lord Brooke, and others, was one of the patentees

of Connecticut. In April, A.D. 1630, with your illustrious ancestor, Governor Winthrop, he sailed in the "Arbella," from Yarmouth for Salem, where he arrived the 12th June of that year. There is every reason to believe, that though he remained on these shores not quite a year, yet, leaving his sons to help in the good work, he ever retained the strongest affection for the home of their adoption; and, by his efficient superintendence of its interests in England, was of eminent service to the Colony. Dr. Bond, in his History of Watertown, after briefly reviewing his services, says, "A character in all points so exemplary, so good, and so great, so exempt from any seeming blemish or defect, it is not easy to find among the early worthies of New England; and his honorable descent, and the superior social position so evidently conceded to him by the other adventurers, are feeble claims to our respect, compared with his eminent personal worth."

Mr. Sanders told me that his great admiration for the pure, liberal, and high-toned character of Sir Richard Saltonstall, induced him to present his portrait to the Massachusetts Historical Society. Hoping that I shall be understood as simply carrying out my uncle's request in this matter,

I am, my dear sir, with sincere regard,

Your very obedient servant,

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.

Mr. ASPINWALL, after a few remarks relating to the character and family of Sir Richard Saltonstall, offered the following vote, which was unanimously passed; viz., *Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Charles Sanders, Esq., for his valuable and beautiful contribution to its Gallery of Historical Paintings.

Mr. BRIGHAM, Chairman of the Standing Committee, presented the Annual Report of that Committee; which was accepted. It was as follows; viz.: —

Report of the Standing Committee.

The Standing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in obedience to the requisitions of the By-laws, beg leave to make their Annual Report:—

They are happy to report the continued prosperity and success of the Society during the past year; a success that is made evident in the increased interest and generous contributions of its friends, in our larger and more interesting meetings, rather than in any marked event, such as distinguished its history the preceding year.

The Report of the Librarian will show the deep interest which the members and friends of the Society have felt in the library. More than one thousand valuable volumes and pamphlets have been added to it by contribution the last year. These have come, not only from members and friends of the Society at home, but from foreign governments, associations, and individuals abroad. There has been no year, since the formation of the Society, when so valuable contributions to the library have been made from so many different sources as during the past year. They evince a deep and wide interest in its prosperity; and it is a source of sincere gratification, that so many persons and associations should have made our Society the depository of so many valuable books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and papers. We would express our gratitude to all such benefactors, and will assure them that the treasures so generously placed in our charge will be carefully and faithfully preserved.

Our library, including the Dowse Library, now contains upwards of thirteen thousand bound volumes, twelve thousand pamphlets, and a great amount of valuable manuscripts, papers, and maps, — tending to illustrate our early history, and the memorable actors in that history. The most valuable papers and manuscripts which have been added

the last year are the papers of the late Dr. Belknap, and the diary of the late Dr. Pierce; the receipt of the first of which was most gratefully acknowledged at the last stated meeting of our Society. The diary of Dr. Pierce comprises eighteen volumes, and is now placed in our library according to the provisions of his last will; thereby showing his deep interest in the Society of which he was so useful a member, as well as his confidence in selecting it as the guardian of a treasure so dear to him, and which must eventually be of great public interest.

The Committee have made such examination of the library as they were able to do without the aid of a catalogue: and they are happy to report that it is in good order; and, so far as they were able to ascertain, not a volume has been lost during the year.

During the past two years, five portraits have been added to our collection, — one, of the late Samuel Appleton, procured by the Society in grateful remembrance of him as one of our most generous benefactors; another, of our ex-President, whose presence here to-day prevents our saying one tithe of what we would gladly say of his valuable services to our Society, as well as to American history; another, of our oldest resident and honored members; and two others, of the early fathers of New England, — that of John Winthrop, jun., formerly Governor of Connecticut; and of Sir Richard Saltonstall. All of these, except the first named, were gifts to the Society; and the generosity of the donors, as well as the value of the gifts, has been most gratefully acknowledged.

A catalogue of the library, manuscripts, and maps, has been prepared by the Assistant Librarian, under direction of the Standing Committee; and it is now nearly ready for the press. It will make a volume of about a thousand pages; and, when completed, will be of great value. It is made thus large from the fact, that, in it, every book, pamphlet, manuscript, and map, in the library, are referred to. The entire

cost of publication will be about twelve hundred dollars; and the Committee will be glad to cause it to be printed as soon as the financial condition of the Society shall authorize it. They fully appreciate the importance of completing a work which is really so much needed, and without which the library loses half its value.

The Society now own nearly five thousand volumes of their own publications. During the last year, they have sold several entire sets; but the whole number of volumes thus disposed of is only two hundred and sixty-nine. It is desirable to dispose of many of the remaining volumes, both on account of the aid it would afford the Society, as well as to extend more widely the valuable information they contain. The Standing Committee recommend that a Special Committee be chosen by the Society to devise some scheme for a more speedy sale of these volumes, and to report thereon.

The Report of the Cabinet-Keeper will show, that, in that department, our friends have not been wanting. Valuable additions have been made to it. The Committee, however, cannot but regret that the treasures of our cabinet are not better arranged, and made more accessible; so that our members, at least, may know what we possess. At present, the most valuable part of our cabinet is kept out of sight; and but a few of our members know any thing of its real value and importance. It may be generally known, that among our valuable curiosities may be found the swords of Standish and Brewster, the coat of Dr. Franklin, and the epaulets of Washington; yet a thousand other objects of great interest are never heard of, because there is no opportunity of displaying them.

This state of things should not continue. Our indefatigable Cabinet-Keeper does all he can; and it would seem that he can hardly do better, at present, than to keep the cabinet safely locked up.

The Committee hope that the time is not far distant when the Society will be able to fit our upper room in this building in a suitable manner for a portrait-gallery and for the cabinet. It is large enough for both, and will probably be large enough to accommodate all accessions for many years. Here the cabinet could be so arranged in glass cases as to be not only perfectly safe, but visible to every one; and, when once done, our institution would seem to be almost complete in its arrangements.

This subject has long engaged the attention of the Committee; and they now recommend that a Special Committee be appointed to act and advise with the Cabinet-Keeper as to an arrangement of the cabinet, and to report such plans of improvement as they shall deem expedient, and to make an estimate of the expense thereof.

The fourth volume of the Fourth Series of our publications has just been published; and much credit is due to the Publishing Committee for the faithful manner in which their work has been performed. According to our By-laws, a new Committee must be now appointed to prepare and publish another volume. This is well; but it has occurred to the Standing Committee, and the wish has often been expressed by members, that measures should be adopted to print and publish the Proceedings of our meetings, or such parts of them as would be of permanent interest. The Committee are not prepared to present any plan for this purpose; but they suggest it as a matter deserving the consideration of the Society, and as a means of giving new interest to our meetings.

The Committee, on the termination of their labors, congratulate the Society on its present prosperity and its future prospects; and they only regret that they have not been able to serve the Society more effectually and profitably.

All which is respectfully submitted.

For the Committee.

WILLIAM BRIGHAM, *Chairman.*

The Annual Reports of the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper were read and accepted, as follows:—

Annual Report of the Librarian.

In complying with the regulation which requires him "to present, at the annual meeting, a statement of the condition and wants of the library, with a notice of the important accessions that have been made to it during the year," the Librarian feels that there is good cause for him to congratulate the Society on the present condition of the library, on the large accessions which have recently been made to it, and on the fact, that while it still has wants,—as every institution of the kind must ever have,—yet many of these have been met, during the past year, by donations of rare and precious value.

The Society has now in its rooms about thirteen thousand bound volumes. Eight thousand of these are the slow accumulation of more than sixty years, and constitute the Society's library proper. Five thousand compose the Dowse Library, the noble gift of that extraordinary man—Thomas Dowse—to this Society, among whose members, and within whose walls, his name and memory can never cease to be honored.

In addition to these bound volumes, there are about twelve thousand pamphlets, so arranged in cases as to be easily accessible. The library has been more largely used during the past than in any former year. This use has consisted chiefly in the visits of members of the Society, or of others introduced by them according to the Rules, to read, examine, and consult books in the rooms, without taking them from the library. The agreeable aspect and accommodations of the Society's rooms will probably lead to a constant increase of this mode of using the library; although the record shows, that, during the past year, a much larger

number of volumes than usual have been taken out. All that have been taken out have been returned, and in good order: no book has received any injury that has been noticed, and no book has been lost. One volume, "Velancey on the Primitive Inhabitants of Great Britain," that had been missing more than twenty years (since December, 1835), has been recovered.

There are two books missing, which it is very desirable should be recovered; viz., Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrims," and Sargent's "History of Braddock's Expedition." They have been missing since 1856. In that year, our books were removed from the room now occupied by the Dowse Library, to be re-arranged on the new shelves in the middle room; and, for some months, our library and rooms were in a confused state. It may be, that, at that time, these books were taken out by some member, or members; and, owing to the confusion alluded to above, no record was made; and consequently the fact has passed from the minds of the members and of the Assistant Librarian. The loss is mentioned here, and in connection with the removal of our books, that gentlemen may be led to challenge their memories, and examine their shelves and bookcases; so that, peradventure, these volumes, ignorantly retained, may be joyfully restored to us.

The accessions to the library the past year have been unusually large and valuable. There have been received four hundred and sixty-nine printed volumes; twenty-nine manuscript volumes, including the diary of the Rev. John Pierce, D.D., in eighteen volumes; four smaller manuscripts; nine bound volumes of newspapers; three volumes unbound; five hundred and sixteen pamphlets; seven maps; and last, but not least, the books, papers, and various manuscripts, of the late Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D.D., who, more distinctly than any other person, is entitled to the honor of being styled the Founder of the Massachusetts His-

torical Society. The various items of donations to the library for the past year, counting volumes, pamphlets, manuscripts, &c., amount, in all, to more than a thousand, — probably about twelve hundred. They have been received from one hundred and four different sources. The individual contributors are eighty-three; civic governments, literary societies, and other associations, twenty-one. Of the individual contributors, twenty-one are Resident or Honorary Members of our Society. Of the bound volumes and manuscripts received during the year, a very considerable portion are of such value, that they might properly come within the rule which requires the Librarian “to notice the important accessions.” A strict conformity to this rule, in this instance, would swell this Report to an undue length. Only the *most* important can be briefly noticed.

Among the manuscripts received, attention may be directed, first, to nine volumes of Spanish manuscripts, presented by W. H. Whitmore, Esq. All of these, judging from their titles, seem to be curious and interesting; and some of them — viz., “The Rebellion in Grenada in 1578;” “The Treaties of Peace made during the Reign of Carlos II.,” bearing date 1665; “A New System of Government for America, by Don Campellio y Corrio,” without date — have probably considerable value as historical documents. Two other manuscripts may be mentioned, recently received from William Winthrop, Esq., United-States Consul at Malta: the one, “Drawings of the Arms, or Escutcheons, of the Knights of Malta;” the other, “Plans of all the Forts and Harbors of the Mediterranean.” These manuscripts are without date. The latter is unquestionably very ancient, and is beautifully executed.

The memoirs, or diary, of Rev. Dr. Pierce, eighteen volumes manuscript, were presented by him to the Society in his will. At the request of the widow, they have remained in her possession. Upon her death, a few weeks ago, the executor,

Mr. Charles Stoddard, sent them to the library. They are now in the hands of a Special Committee to consider under what restrictions and regulations they must be placed, that no improper and unwise use be made of their contents. With the exception, perhaps, of some of the earlier portions, the value of these manuscripts is prospective, rather than immediate; but, from what we know of the character of Dr. Pierce, — from his large sympathies, which brought him into constant and friendly intercourse with persons of all political and religious parties; his minuteness and accuracy in collecting facts and details; his intimate connection with the principal men and events of this community for more than fifty years, — there can be no doubt, that, to the future historian and biographer, these volumes will be a mine of much curious, authentic, and valuable information. A file of documents recently received from George Gardner, Esq., relating to the early history of the Boston Town House, may also be mentioned as an interesting addition to our manuscript Collections.

Last in the order received, but first in importance and interest to the Society, are the various papers and manuscripts of Dr. Belknap. Among these are, first, A large number of sermons; covering, probably, a considerable portion, if not the whole period, of his ministry. These are of little historical value; but, from their association with their author, they will be regarded with interest, and carefully preserved by this Society.

Second, Letters received in the correspondence which he had with many distinguished persons in New England, while collecting materials for his "History of New Hampshire." These letters are carefully preserved and indexed by himself. Many of them are interesting and valuable, and have never been published.

Third, Materials collected for a complete American Biography. Dr. Belknap died while the second volume of his

"American Biography" was passing through the press. In the brief but admirable notice of him prefixed to that volume, the writer — probably the late Judge Davis — speaks of Dr. Belknap's plan for compiling and publishing a complete "American Biography," and of the valuable materials which he had collected and partially arranged for that purpose; some of which, he says, "are in such a state of preparation, that they might be readily fitted for the press, if the public opinion should countenance the publication, and the tenderness of his friends to his literary reputation should suffer them to present to the world any unfinished production bearing his name." These materials — probably the whole of them — are among the manuscripts which have now come into the possession of this Society.

Fourth, A manuscript volume, lettered on the back, "Harvard College;" indicating that Dr. Belknap contemplated a work on the graduates of that university, and had made considerable progress in preparing it.

Fifth, Various curious and valuable manuscripts; such as, diaries of Increase and Cotton Mather; of Laurence Hammond, of Charlestown; historical memoranda of the Rev. Jabez Fitch, of Portsmouth; of Hugh Adams, of Dover; letters from Dr. Watts to Dr. Coleman; a letter-book of Edmund Quincy, the father of Mrs. Hancock, containing letters written on political subjects during the Revolutionary war; with a large number of miscellaneous letters, covering a long period of time. With these manuscripts are also quite a number of books and pamphlets relating to our history, many of which are very *rare*, and which were wanting in the Society's library. The whole of this Belknap donation is now in the hands of a Committee, to be arranged and put in complete order for preservation, and for consultation by members of the Society and historical students. It is a matter of deep and gratifying interest, that thus, after a period of sixty years, the image of one of the most promi-

ment and honored on the list of our founders should be brought distinctly before us, and this Society made the depository of his valuable books and papers. An appropriate vote of thanks to the donor, for this precious addition to our literary treasures, has already been passed; but the Librarian feels that he should be neglecting a grateful duty, did he omit to allude to the obligations we are under to our distinguished associate, Mr. George Ticknor, for his interest, influence, and services, as the medium of communication through whom this large and valuable donation was made.

Passing from the manuscripts received to the important donations in books, we may notice, first, twenty-three volumes of Dodsley's "Annual Register," presented by our associate, Hon. C. H. Warren. These volumes are consecutive, giving us a complete set of the work, from the first to the twenty-third, with the exception of one volume,—the sixteenth; and covering the period from 1758 to 1780, with the exception of the year 1773,—the period embraced by the sixteenth volume. [Mr. Warren here interrupted the Librarian, to say that he had recently obtained in New York a copy of the sixteenth volume, which, in a few days, he should present to the library.]

We may notice, second, Seven volumes received from the New-York Historical Society, — four volumes of their Collections, Second Series; and three volumes of the Proceedings of the Society from 1843 to 1847.

Third, Thirty-nine volumes from the Society of Antiquarians, London. Most of these volumes are "the Archæologia" of the Society, containing interesting and important tracts relating to antiquities. Several of them are splendid volumes of historical prints, containing plans, elevations, sections, &c., of various cathedrals, churches, &c., in England; one volume, with seventeen plates of the tapestry of Bayeux; and another, with historical prints of the times of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

Fourth, Forty-two volumes of the Publications of the Record Commission of the Government of Great Britain, received through Mr. Henry Stephens. This is a very valuable donation, though not a complete set of the publications of that commission. The volumes received are full on the "Documentary History of Scotland," and the "Ancient Laws of England and Wales."

Fifth, Thirty volumes from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. These volumes contain various legislative and other important documents in relation to the history of that young State.

Sixth, Guizot's works, seventeen volumes; very fine Paris edition, presented by the author, one of our most distinguished Honorary Members. The volumes include all his works up to 1856.

Seventh, Thirty-three volumes received from T. B. Aikins, Record Commissioner of Nova Scotia, — containing the Journals of Proceedings, Records, &c., of the Provincial Parliament of Nova Scotia, and various important documents illustrative of the history of that Province.

Eighth, Twenty-six volumes recently received from William Winthrop, Esq., United-States Consul at Malta. Among these may be mentioned a curious copy of Livy, in Spanish, printed in 1520 at Madrid; six volumes of old historical tracts, some of which are curious and interesting; Bomord's "History of England," in folio; Camden's "Remains," printed in 1622; and a fine copy of "Ortelius Theatrum Orbis Terrarum."

Ninth, Eighteen volumes of the Records of Pennsylvania. These were presented, through our Corresponding Secretary, by the Executive of that State; and, from their relation to its early colonial history, will be justly appreciated as a valuable addition to our library.

Tenth, Ten volumes, presented by S. F. Barstow, Esq., through our associate, Hon. C. H. Warren. Among these

may be noticed eight volumes, containing the "Gallery of British Portraits of the Reigns of James I. and Charles I.;" "History of the Life of the Duke of Espernon;" Drummond's "Travels;" Arnot's "Criminal Trials;" "History of the Troubles of Suethland;" "Life of St. Patrick;" "Life of Edward, the Black Prince;" Howitt's "Life of Louis XIII.;" Howell's "Survey of Venice;" and the works of Sir William Davenant.

Lastly, We may notice a hundred and thirty-one volumes, besides an indefinite number of pamphlets, presented by the honored President of our Society, Mr. Winthrop: viz., forty-one volumes, "Congressional Globe;" forty-two volumes, the "Annals of Congress;" twenty-seven volumes, Gales and Seaton's "Register of Congressional Debates;" and twenty-one volumes, "American State Papers." The character of these works is too well known, and their value and importance as additions to our library are too obvious, to need comment; but the Librarian cannot forbear to allude to the obligations the Society is under to its honored President, as for all his interest and services to promote its prosperity and usefulness, so especially for his large and constant contributions to the library, and for the excellent example which he sets his associates in this particular. Were a like interest felt and like contributions made by each of us according to his ability, many things that are now wanting on our shelves would soon find a place there. We are yet without copies of some works, of which members of this Society are the authors, and which have been published within the year. It is to be hoped that they will soon be placed upon our shelves.

This matter of shelves, however, is one that will speedily demand the attention of the Society, or its Standing Committee. We want more room, especially for folios. We want more room generally for books; and, at the rate at which the library has increased the last two years, some

larger accommodation must soon be provided. As the catalogue — upon which subject the Standing Committee have already reported — is not yet published, it may be interesting and of service to state here the order in which the books of the Society's library are now arranged on the shelves in the middle room. Beginning at the left hand on entering the door from the ante-room, members will find, first, works on law, jurisprudence, legal trials, &c., occupying one compartment. Next come all theological and religious works, sermons, &c., filling two compartments. In the next three compartments, — the fourth, fifth, and sixth, — our various series of periodical publications and similar books are arranged. Among these, the volumes of "American State Papers," "Congressional Debates," &c., — the donation, already noticed, of Mr. Winthrop, — are at present placed. Then come, first, biographical and genealogical works; second, catalogues, and books on bibliography; third, scientific works; fourth, geographical works; fifth, books of voyages and travels; sixth, local and town histories; seventh, Massachusetts histories, — occupying one compartment each. In the next four compartments — the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth — are arranged all histories of New England, and of other States of the Union; in the eighteenth, all historical works on other portions of America than the United States; in the nineteenth and twentieth, works on European and general history; and the twenty-first — the last compartment, on the right hand of the door on entering — is filled with miscellaneous books, not belonging properly to either of the above divisions. All our present shelf-room is crowded, and more provision must soon be made.

The Librarian would also call the attention of the Standing Committee to the fact, that we have now a considerable number of small but very valuable manuscripts, that should either be bound, or placed in cases prepared for them. Some ar-

rangement should be made for their better preservation, and for their more commodious use by members of the Society.

In regard to the Dowse Library, the Librarian has to report, that the rules regulating its use have been faithfully observed. The Dowse Library has attracted large numbers of visitors during the year, and beguiled many of our members to long hours of pleasant and profitable reading in its beautiful and attractive apartments. The books remain, at present, as they were placed, somewhat hurriedly and without any definite plan of arrangement, when first removed to this hall. The works are so various and miscellaneous in their character, that it is difficult to adopt, and carry out rigidly, any one principle of classification. The Committee associated with the Librarian for this purpose propose to arrange the library under seven general divisions. Beginning at the corner of the room on the right hand of the door of entrance, the first division will contain the works on American history, biography, literature, &c.; the second, the scientific, philosophical, and theological books; the third, English history, biography, and general literature; the fourth, English poetry, and dramatic literature; the fifth, translations of the ancient classics, and books relating to European continental literature; the sixth, general history, and miscellaneous works; the seventh, works on bibliography, and the history of literature. The busts will then be placed to correspond to this arrangement. The bust of Washington, for instance, will be placed as the presiding genius over the first division, — American history and biography; that of Franklin over the second, — scientific and philosophical works, &c. There are twenty-six compartments in the bookcases. These will be numbered, or marked by the letters of the alphabet. A sheet catalogue for each compartment will be made out, and placed in the drawer of each; by consulting which, any book can be easily found. The Committee hope to have this arrangement completed in the course of the next two months.

This being done, the Dowse Library can be considered as thoroughly in order; long to continue a monument to his fame, and an incentive to our labors.

Respectfully submitted.

S. K. LOTHROP,

Librarian.

Report of the Cabinet-Keeper.

In compliance with the second section of the ninth chapter of the By-laws of the Society, the undersigned, as Cabinet-Keeper, presents the following Report of the condition of the museum under his charge:—

The articles appertaining to the museum of the Society consist of a cabinet of coins, medals, and other small articles, valuable for their historic relations; of a large collection of curiosities, illustrative of the habits and customs of the people of various foreign countries, and especially of the American aborigines; and also of many portraits of distinguished persons, and works of art.

The condition of the cabinet, and of the other parts of the museum, is not what it should be, owing to the want of proper accommodations, and of suitable cases for displaying the several articles. It is hoped, however, that the finances of the Society will soon warrant an expenditure of money adequate to the demands of the department, and that the attention of the Society will be early directed to its urgent necessities.

When suitable arrangements have been made for the display of articles of antiquarian and historical value, it is believed that large accessions will be made to the department, and that its objects of curiosity will form prominent matters of interest to persons visiting the Society's rooms.

Respectfully submitted,

NATHL. B. SHURTLEFF, *Cabinet-Keeper.*

BOSTON, 8 April, 1858.

The President nominated, as a new Publishing Committee, Messrs. Warren, Bowditch, Clifford, and Davis.

Mr. BOWDITCH, from the Committee on the Treasurer's accounts, presented a Report, giving a general statement of the receipts and disbursements of the past year, and of the present state of the finances of the Society; which was accepted.

Mr. LINCOLN, from the Committee appointed to nominate candidates for the several offices of the Society, reported the following list; and the persons therein named were elected; viz.:—

President.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D. BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

JARED SPARKS, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

HON. DAVID SEARS, A.M. BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D. BOSTON.

Corresponding Secretary.

JOSEPH WILLARD, A.M. BOSTON.

Treasurer.

HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, JUN., A.M. CHARLESTOWN.

Librarian.

REV. SAMUEL K. LOTHROP, D.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-Keeper.

NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, M.D. BOSTON.

Standing Committee.

GEORGE LIVERMORE, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

THOMAS ASPINWALL, A.M. BOSTON.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

HON. LORENZO SABINE, A.M. ROXBURY.

CHARLES DEANE, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

The President, in a few appropriate remarks, alluded to the decease of two of the Corresponding Members of the Society, — Lord Braybrooke, D.C.L ; and Rev. Philip Bliss, LL.D.

Hon. LUTHER V. BELL, M.D., and Rev. WILLIAM S. BARTLET, were elected Resident Members, and Count JULES DE MENOU an Honorary Member, of the Society.

Mr. WILLARD, from the Committee to whom was referred a manuscript, entitled "Some Account of the Dudleys of Massachusetts, by George Adlard, in which Cotton Mather's more Particular Account of Governor Dudley is brought to Light," made a written Report as follows: —

They have examined this "more particular account" of Governor Dudley, and have compared the manuscript with the printed life in the "Magnalia;" and are of the opinion, that it is the more particular account there referred to. Its style is that of Mather; and there are many parallel passages, showing a common origin and authorship in the two accounts. The manuscript is much more extended than the print, and contains sundry additional particulars and incidents touching Dudley's early training and subsequent career.

Mr. Adlard has added some interesting remarks upon the ancestry of the Dudleys, with copies of four Dudley wills of the sixteenth century (two of them from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and two from the Registry of the Commissary Court of London), in proof of the ancestry of the Massachusetts Dudleys.

Your Committee further are of the opinion, that this "more particular account" of Governor Dudley, with the accompanying papers, is deserving of publication in the Society's Collections; provided that the original manuscript can

be obtained, which Mr. J. Wingate Thornton "discovered among some Dudley papers," and at one time had in his possession. We have applied to Mr. Thornton for this manuscript. He says, in answer, that he has "searched repeatedly but unsuccessfully for it;" but that there is another copy in the possession of Mr. Dean Dudley, with which Mr. Adlard's copy can be collated, and that he (Mr. T.) will cheerfully make the collation. Mr. Adlard thinks that the Society may fully rely upon his copy. In reply, the Committee have written to this gentleman, as follows; viz., "The Society is always desirous to collate with and print from the original manuscripts, whenever possible, because it assumes a responsibility for the authentic character of the materials, and the accuracy of the transcripts. We cannot but hope and believe that the original will yet be found. With this view, and with your permission, we will retain your manuscript for the present, subject to your order; trusting that we may yet be able to print your entire contribution," &c. To this letter of March 24th last no answer has been received.

Your Committee are not entirely satisfied of the strict verbal accuracy of the copy furnished by Mr. Adlard; and would not recommend a publication of his manuscript, unless an opportunity can be had of instituting a comparison with the original "more particular account." If this "account" should be placed in the possession of the Society, and be proved—as they have reason to suppose it would be—the veritable account written by Mather, they would recommend the publication. Meanwhile, they place Mr. Adlard's copies in the possession of the Society, subject to Mr. Adlard's order.

All which is respectfully submitted.

For the Committee,

JOSEPH WILLARD.

SPECIAL MEETING, APRIL 19.

The Society held a special meeting this evening, April 19, at the house of the Hon. Josiah Quincy, No. 5, Park Street, Boston. The meeting was called to order at eight o'clock by the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, who remarked, that the Society had been kindly invited by our venerable senior member to meet on the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington; and that it had occurred to him to inquire, as not inappropriate to the occasion, how soon, and under what circumstances, the tidings of that event reached England. He then proceeded as follows:—

In a "Memoir of Elias Hasket Derby," by his grandson, recently presented to our library, we are reminded, that, "by a remarkable concurrence of events, and by the uncommon speed of two ships owned by his father and brother, Captain Richard Derby carried to England the first news of the battle of Lexington; returned to Salem with the first intelligence of the effect it produced in London, which he laid before General Washington at Cambridge; and, at the close of the war, brought to America from France the first news of peace."—P. 28.

In Force's "Archives" (vol. ii. p. 747), under date April 27, 1775, we find the following resolution of the Massachusetts Committee of Safety:—

"*Resolved*, That Captain Derby be directed, and he hereby is directed, to make for Dublin, or any good port in Ireland; and from thence to cross to Scotland or England, and hasten to London. This direction is, that so he may escape all cruisers that may be in the

chops of the Channel to stop the communicating of the provincial intelligence to the agent. He will deliver his papers to the agent on reaching London.

“J. WARREN, *Chairman*.

“P.S. — You are to keep this order a profound secret from every person on earth.” — *Frothingham's History*, p. 85, *note*.

In the same volume, p. 848, is the following: —

“SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE, WHITEHALL, May 30, 1775.

“A report having been spread, and an account having been printed and published, of a skirmish between some of the people in the Province of Massachusetts Bay and a detachment of his majesty's troops, it is proper to inform the public, that no advices have as yet been received, in the American department, of any such event.

“There is reason to believe that there are despatches from General Gage on board the ‘Sukey,’ Captain Brown; which, though she sailed four days before the vessel that brought the printed accounts, is not yet arrived.”

It thus appears, that Captain Derby, sailing four days after the government messenger, had arrived before him; viz., before the 30th of May; and that the ministry had attempted to discredit the accounts which he brought.

This attempt was at once counteracted by our agent at London in the following notice, dated the same day: —

“LONDON, Tuesday, May 30, 1775.

“As a doubt of the authenticity of the account from *Salem*, touching an engagement between the king's troops and the provincials in the Massachusetts Bay, may arise from a paragraph in the ‘Gazette’ of this evening, I desire to inform all those who wish to see the original affidavits which confirm that account, that they are deposited at the Mansion House, with the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, for their inspection.

“ARTHUR LEE,

Agent for the Ho. of Reps. of the Mass. Bay.”

The authentic despatches were not delivered in London to Lord Dartmouth till the 10th June, when Lieutenant Nunn,

of the navy, arrived with them; and they were published from Whitehall the same day. — *Force*, vol. ii. p. 945.

In the mean time, the previous accounts by Captain Derby had been so far credited, that a special meeting of several members of the Constitutional Society was held at the King's-Arms Tavern, Cornhill, London, June 7, 1775; and a subscription of a hundred pounds voted "to be applied to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our beloved American fellow-subjects, who, faithful to the character of Englishmen, preferring death to slavery, were, for that reason only, inhumanly murdered by the king's troops, at or near Lexington and Concord, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, on the 19th of last April."

"Which sum, being immediately collected," was ordered to be sent to Dr. Franklin.

In illustration of the effect produced in England by the affair of Lexington, we may take the following extract from a letter of Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, dated Strawberry Hill, June 5, 1775:—

"You must lower your royal crest a little; for your majesty's forces have received a check in America. But this is too sad a subject for mirth. I cannot tell you any thing very positively: the ministers,—nay, the orthodox 'Gazette' holds its tongue. This day sennight, it was divulged by a 'London Evening-Post' extraordinary, that a ship, on its way to Lisbon, happened to call at England, and left some very wonderful accounts,—nay, and affidavits,—saying, to wit, that General Gage had sent nine hundred men to nail up the cannon, and seize a magazine, at Concord; of which, the accidental captain owns, two cannon were spiked or damaged. An hundred and fifty Americans, who swear they were fired on first, disliked the proceeding, returned blows, and drove back the party. Lord Percy was despatched to support them: but, new recruits arriving, his lordship sent for better advice, which he received; and it was to retire, which he did. The king's troops lost an hundred and fifty; the enemy, not an hundred. The captain was sent for to be examined, but refused. He says Gage sent away a sloop four days before he sailed: which sloop, I suppose,

is gone to Lisbon; for, in eight days, we have no news of it. The public were desired by authority to suspend their belief: but their patience is out; and they persist in believing the first account, which seems the rather probable, in that another account is come of the mob having risen at New York, between anger and triumph, and have seized, unloaded, and destroyed the cargoes of two ships that were going with supplies to Gage; and, by all accounts, that whole continent is in a flame.

“So here is this fatal war commenced!—

“‘The child that is unborn shall rue
The hunting of that day.’”

This letter fixes the date of the first publication of Captain Derby's news. “This day sennight,” from June 5, would have been May 29. The subsequent phrase, “eight days,” in Walpole's letter, implies that the arrival was on the 28th May; and we have seen Captain Derby receiving instructions from the Committee of Safety on the 27th of April. The passage must have been less than a month,—a very short for one those days.

The expressions of sorrow and foreboding in Walpole's letter remind us of the fact which the poet Rogers used to tell all his American friends. He remembered, that, when the news of the first blood shed at Concord and Lexington reached London, his own father put on a black suit from that day, and continued to wear it till his death.

There is a characteristic letter from Dr. Franklin to Edmund Burke in this connection:—

“PHILADELPHIA, May 15, 1775.

“DEAR SIR,—You will see by the papers that General Gage called his assembly to propose Lord North's pacific plan; but, before they could meet, drew the sword, and began the war. His troops made a most vigorous retreat,—twenty miles in three hours,—scarce to be paralleled in history. The feeble Americans, who pelted them all the way, could scarce keep up with them.

“All people here feel themselves much obliged by your endeavors to serve them. I hear your proposed resolves were negatived by a

great majority; which was denying the most notorious truths, and a kind of national lying, of which they may be convicted by their own records.

“The Congress is met here pretty full. I had not been here a day before I was returned a member. We dined together on Saturday, when your health was among the foremost.

“With the sincerest esteem, I am ever, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

“B. FRANKLIN.”

Mr. SIBLEY exhibited to the meeting a file of original documents, belonging to the library of Harvard College, relating to the battle of Lexington. Amongst them were the depositions of the inhabitants of Lexington and vicinity, who were eye-witnesses of the engagement and of the conduct of the British troops on their march, given under oath before William Reed, Jonah Johnson, Jonathan Hastings, John Cumming, William Stickney, and Duncan Ingraham, Justices of the Peace for the county of Middlesex, whose authority as justices, and respectability as men, are certified at Charlestown by Nathaniel Gorham, Notary Public.

The file also contained letters from Joseph Warren, — one dated Cambridge, April 27, 1775; the other, May 16, 1775.

Mr. DEANE produced the following letters, copied from the Letter-book of Edmund Quincy, the father-in-law of John Hancock. The Letter-book belongs to the Belknap collection of papers, which has recently come into the possession of the Society.

Letter from Edmund Quincy to John Hancock.

LANCASTER, March 25, 1776.

To the Hon. J. HANCOCK, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Your peculiar favor of the 10th current, per Mr. Avery, came safe to hand; and I am obliged with the same. By it I am pleased to find my last of Feb. 8 was got safe, containing the paper I had supposed was in your hands some months before; and that your health permitted your so close attention. I hope my last, of 18th current, will arrive the ensuing week, having therein advised you of the cowardly evacuation of the fortress of Boston; and of the king's ships hurrying out of the harbor; and of the operation of our D[orchester]-Hill formidable batteries to the enemy's consternation, erected principally in one night by the well-timed assistance of four hundred carts and wagons of timber fixed for the purpose, and other materials of defence, by which intrenchments were effected sufficient to stand every supposable kind of attack or opposition of the enemy; whose numbers, as we now learn, were — effective and non-effective men — no fewer than seven thousand five hundred. It also appears that the Tory gang had, for a month before, such warning, that they had hired several vessels for their own safety, which lay ready, under pay, to take them, bag and baggage, and make their exit with the fleet upon the earliest notice of a necessity of evacuating the town; which General Howe, with his Council, determined upon, after an application to G[eneral] Washington for five days' cessation of arms, at the end whereof G[eneral] Howe promised to leave the town. To which G[eneral] W[ashington] politically answered in the negative, and added that he would sooner run the risk of sacrificing fifty thousand men in storming the fortress, &c. Howe was all the time making preparation to be gone, which they say was much accelerated by an accidental fire among several of Prospect-Hill barracks some nights before, which

Howe supposed was an alarm to the inhabitants to come in next day in order to accomplish G[eneral] W[ashington]'s menace before mentioned. It is certain he was under great surprise, upon the whole; for it is confidently reported, he, staying among the latest embarkations, rode the last day, with apparent haste, down to the wharf where the boat lay for him; in which he made so much haste to get, that he fell into it, as was observed by curious people near: whether hurt or no, we have not heard. Another mark of precipitation is, that the ships went down without taking on board their water, — at most, not a *quantum sufficit*, — and have been observed watering, some days since their departure.

26th. We are advised this day, that the ships were yesterday below, and supposed by some to be waiting the arrival of an expected fleet from G[reat] B[ritain], and with them to proceed to the southward. Others suppose they have, in such case, a further design upon Boston: but this seems very improbable; for they must be convinced, by what they have seen and heard, that there, our fortifications, put into a good posture of defence, — together with the batteries erected and erecting on D[orchester] Hills, and other eminences without the town, on Fort Hill and at Castle William, as I am told, — can afford them but little encouragement to retake a fortress, which they have so lately judged untenable against the force they may now suppose to be in possession, and which may be not only augmented as G[eneral] W[ashington] sees fit, but also as well supported in all respects as may be needful. No: I think their views cannot be against Boston, and therefore imagine New York may be their chief object. However, it is probable they may divide their force of ships and troops among several of the more Southern Colonies, where Dr. Y.* informs me they are making, and have already made, such preparations as to give them a smart drubbing, come when

* Probably Dr. Thomas Young. — See Works of John Adams, vol. ix. pp. 617, 623.

they will; and I hope they may be treated as they deserve. I am fully of opinion, administration is already very heartily sick of their scheme of subjugation, and of their principal advisers from hence; and doubt not but both Bernard and Hutchinson in particular have lately undergone such profuse sweatings at court as more than preponderate all their profits and honors: and they must expect a repetition of them, if nothing worse, should the Continental force this year discourage all further proceeding against the A[merican] Colonies, and render the British hopes, as to the same, desperate, — not only of a subduction, but likewise of every kind of governmental control. And truly I think that the member of the House of Commons, who, in a ludicrous manner, inquired at “what time the Americans were emancipated,” might have saved himself the trouble by looking into Sir William Blackstone’s Commentaries, vol. i. p. 233, upon the duties of kings; where he would have found it to be a maxim of common law, that, when protection ceaseth, allegiance ceaseth to be the duty of the subject. Now, it being evident that the British king had, at the time of inquiry, not only withdrawn his protection from these Colonies, — which, truly, was only negative, — but that he had positively commenced hostilities, of which there can be no dubious construction. Hostilities were not only commenced, but violently and unmercifully prosecuted, maugre our most devout supplication; to which we have had the mortification of repeated refusal, with contempt and abuse. And, as this is the case, the querist might have known, without going off his seat, the time of emancipation was then arrived; and every step since taken by the British administration are so many repeated corroborations of the subject’s present and future right, or Lord Coke, as well as Sir William, have been grossly mistaken in a fundamental article of the British Constitution. Probably the warm member above referred to — for I now forget his name — might, if present, tell us that the relation between

the king and his Colonies was very different from that between the government of Great Britain and the British subjects, as the latter were by compact entitled to the franchises of Englishmen, and therefore had a right to insist on protection, and to make it the condition *sine quâ non* of their allegiance; but that the Colonies were at the king's disposal, and that *he*, with his omnipotent Parliament, had always, now have, and ever ought to have, an absolute right to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever, even to deprive them of their natural rights, as, if I mistake not, T. H.* said once in your hearing. Consequently, I suppose the said member was of a similar opinion; which made him use the common word for manumitting a son or a slave among the Romans. And, if this was really the general opinion of the British Legislature, it is indeed full time that we should oblige them to come to an *éclaircissement* upon the important subject; and, at present, I can see nothing will answer the end so well AS A DECLARATION TO ALL THE WORLD OF OUR ABSOLUTE INDEPENDENCY *sub nomine divino*, which will soon attract a limited commercial correspondence with as many other independent States as may be like to comport with the true interest of our own, which we must be now convinced cannot well comport with the control of any other upon the earth. Providence hath, in his great wisdom and goodness, assigned us a part of the globe between three and four thousand miles distant from the nearest European States, chiefly situated between thirty and forty-seven degrees north latitude, affording a number of excellent climates; the most northern, in great part, answering the just expectation of the husbandman; and the most southern by no means encouraging indolence from spontaneous productions of support, but all must labor, or take care to keep others at work for them, and therefore very averse to raise and support such a power

* Thomas Hutchinson (?).

among them as shall, *ad libitum*, demand what proportion of the fruits of their labor he or they shall think proper. And therefore, considering the distance from Europe; the number and variety of the climates; the necessity of labor; the almost certain support for all who do labor; the natural production of every needed material for a commercial and naval power, and for the defence of the inhabitants against all invaders whomsoever, with the singular advantage of not less than seventeen or eighteen hundred miles seacoast; the many large and long navigable rivers at convenient distances; banks, near the coast, affording very encouraging fisheries of the smaller sorts; and the Atlantic Ocean still open for the whale-fishery, with which we are better acquainted than any other people, — I say, considering all these natural and political advantages, besides many others not mentioned, I will venture to say that we have an indefinitely better prospect of success, in every respect, in a disjunction of these American States from the government of Great Britain, than any other people upon the globe who have separated from the governing country ever had.

Besides, the dispute is risen to so great a height, and the contest become really so hot, that all political application must of course melt before it; and the wounds given and received are so deep, that I fear no political probe will be capable of reaching to the bottom. As my Tory cousin, Samuel Q., said to yourself, Dr. Cooper, me, and many others, after dinner (chez lui, 1774), with a certain air of assurance, "*Gentlemen, the die is cast!*" so I believe many of his kidney assured themselves that it was cast in their favor. I am sorry for his mistake, with that of many others, strangely confident of victory (*sine clade*). Such was the *happy contempt* of the American soldiery, through as *happy* misrepresentations repeated from hence by the ministerial darlings, which have been really, in the result, very advantageous to the *American cause*. Such has often been the case where the

moral as well as political rights of the innocent part of mankind have been wrongfully assailed. "*Right* will strongly unite, cement, and combine, by a mutual association and assistance, those who shall act under its banners; while *wrong* shall naturally, on the contrary, confound and weaken with disunion, dissension, and disturbances among themselves, *those* by whom it shall be unhappily adopted." I apprehend, the truth of this observation has been frequently remarked by those who are devout observers of "*the ways of God to man.*"

Remarkable, indeed, are the steps of Divine Providence in the late signal deliverance of the first and most persecuted city of the North-American Colonies, since the flames of the British wrath have been kindled against them. The event of so peaceful an evacuation is truly wonderful, as we have reason to think a large effusion of blood has been prevented, not only from both the contending parties, but likewise from the inoffensive and innocent inhabitants of the town, who must have abided the woful consequences of the storm, which we must suppose would have been otherwise very soon determined upon. By this means, probably most, or a greater part, of the dwellings have been preserved. By the same means, sir, the large real estate which you had so generously *resigned to the flames*, the same kind Providence, I hope and trust, hath reserved to you and yours. May the same all-wise Disposer of our respective lot and portion on this transitory stage of life sanctify his various dispensations to us, and, whether they may be for the present joyous or grievous, yield us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory! May your health be restored, and your life prolonged yet many years in the restoration and enjoyment of public peace and private happiness, as a temporal reward of your singular patriotic care and concern for the real interest of your native country! and, at the close of the scene in this probationary state, may we have a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens!

I thank you for your hint to Dr. Y. of writing me, under the cover, the political news of the day. I have made return in the enclosed, and have also wrote my daughter the domestic occurrences; to which I beg leave to refer you, and to assure you, that I remain, with the most sincere respect and esteem, dear sir, your most affectionately obliged friend and father,

E. Q.

P.S.—I thank you for the k[ing's] silly proclamation, in which I observe a reference to an Act made to repeal the Boston Port Bill, &c., and to empower the k[ing's] commissioners to grant the colonists pardon of their rebellious proceeding, &c.,—one bait of a hook ready gauged; but hope will not be a catcher of men of high or low degree. As I live so much out of the road of news, I would ask the favor of your spouse's care to forward me, under your name, some of your perhaps neglected Philadelphia papers of weeks past, especially such as contain any advices of consequence.

30th.—Added particular advices respecting the town and H.'s interest,—the 22,000 bushels wheat, blankets, coal, artillery, left; 9,335 hundred-weight mortar and bed; the fortifications going forward,—Fort Hill, Castle, Governor's Island, &c., &c. Offered my service to go to Boston, if it might be of service to him, &c. Recommended perusal of the D. of R.'s Considerations on Present Measures, especially pp. 36, 37, 38, 39, and 40,—all very consolatory to the Americans in their design (*Deo volente*) of revolting from G[reat] B[ritain], as H[ollan]d did ** from Spain. Also noticed the news of G[overnor] Martin's defeat.

Wrote at same time, and enclosed, a letter to daughter Hancock, in which I acquainted her as follows; viz., of her sister G.'s* writing her. Refer her to Dr. Y.'s letter, and to Mr. H[ancock]'s above, for political. That her sister

* One of Mrs. Hancock's sisters married William Greenleaf, Sheriff of Worcester, in 1763.

S.* at London, with family, had been inoculated, and were well, as we hear; for which I am thankful. Of Mr. Abel Willard and his brother going off to Halifax. Noticed the signal protection of H[ancock] in the evacuation of the fortress of Boston. My opinion as to this being the time for independency of these Colonies to take place, &c., for many reasons. Wrote about S. Sewall's request of a good berth anywhere, if he could be supported in a public or private school, or gentleman's family for instructing of his children; and desired Mr. H[ancock]'s arrival as soon as may be. Of the ships leaving Boston Harbor yesterday, except one and a tender. Mentioned D. Barret's loss of goods to a great value. Our want of flax in these parts, or would go to spinning. To send me newspapers or other publications; and to put Dr. Y. upon writing frequently of occurrences, especially what relates to French proceedings, either from F[rance] or W[est] Indies. That we hope them as speedy return as may be consistent with public good, &c., &c.

Letter from Edmund Quincy to Madam Lydia Hancock.†

LANCASTER, March 30, 1776.

TO MADAM LYDIA HANCOCK.

DEAR MADAM,—Since my last, I have between three and four months been in expectation of informing you either of the evacuation of the distressed town of Boston by the ministerial miserable army under G[eneral] Howe, or of our G[eorge] W[ashington] storming the fortress; unless, agreeable to first design, he should, by cannonading and bombarding the town, oblige him to a surrender. It was expected he would have attempted the latter in the winter season; but

* Esther Quincy, sister of Mrs. Hancock, married Jonathan Sewall, who went to England early in 1775.

† The widow of Thomas Hancock, who died Aug. 1, 1764. Mrs. Hancock was, at the date of this letter, residing at Fairfield, Conn.

the ground being so hard frozen that the making strong intrenchments would have been very fatiguing, with some other impediments, caused a delay till about the beginning of this month; when he began to bombard and cannonade from the intrenchments which he had completed nearest to the town, by which H[owe] became sensible he had to do with people who understood their business, and were resolutely determined to do his before they left him. By about the 12th current, W[ashington] took possession in the night of the heights of Dorchester, ranging between the southern batteries and Castle William (since destroyed by the enemy), having prepared timber and fascines for the defence of his men. By or before the morning, had a strong breast-work in two lines, — one facing the town and harbor; the other, H[owe's] batteries, &c., upon the Neck, with artillery mounted; and finished great part of their intrenchments by the vigorous labor of two or three thousand men, and, they say, four hundred carts and wagons, employed the day before at a distance, and came to their proposed works after it was dark. The rise of such a prodigious piece of work in one night vastly surprised both the admiral and general, and put the latter upon sending proposals to our general for a cessation of arms, for, I think, four or five days; which he refused absolutely, and returned H[owe] for answer, that he would sooner run the risk of fifty thousand men in storming the fortress than allow him any time. And this he intended soon to do if he did not quit the town, and also to do his utmost to destroy the king's ships then before the town. About the same time, in the night, it providentially happened that a number of the barracks upon Prospect Hill, so called, in Charlestown, were burnt down; making a great light, seen in Boston, and by H[owe] and Co. supposed to be a beacon to notify the towns about to send in their militia, &c., as speedily as possible, in order to the *storm threatened*. Upon viewing the D[orchester] intrenchments, the admiral grew very

uneasy with the general, and told him, as we hear, that, if he did not endeavor to drive the enemy — i.e., *the rebels* — from those intrenchments, he should leave him to himself, as it was not safe for the king's ships to lie above the Castle (and, indeed, he was right), which caused Howe to parade several thousands of his troops in the Common for the purpose; but, as it is said, the remembrance of B[unker]-Hill quarrel was so fresh in their minds, that the general met with a refusal. And, indeed, they judged very properly, as the attempt would have been attended with more imminent hazard; success being scarcely possible, the intrenchments were so strong, and would have been defended with ten times the force and judgment than they had to oppose at B[unker] Hill: and of this they were fully sensible, — both officers and soldiers. However, it was given out that H[owe] made a second attempt, and was coming out; but the winds were too high! Yet I imagine it was too much upon *the forlorn hope*; and as most of them, I have much reason to think, judged the *cause* they were embarked in to be really in the sight of Heaven unjustifiable, neither one nor the other inclined to venture *so large a stake*, but rather to submit to the indignity of a speedy evacuation. And I wish that had been the lowest stoop they have made: for, when resolved and preparing to be gone, they degraded themselves so far as authoritatively to demand goods out of shops of the peaceable inhabitants, who summered and wintered with them, and deserved protection; and, by the same military authority, they demanded keys of stores, in which, they had been informed, much goods were left by those who had retired into the country. And, among the large sufferers, I am told your friend D. Barret is the largest; and hope, as it is only a part of his worldly substance, he will be suitably affected with the kind dispensation of P[rovidence] in reserving to him and family so large a proportion at a time when others have lost *all*, or perhaps more than *all*, that they really owned in the world, and are

left naked and destitute. I presume that D. was not so happy as to owe much to his agents in G[reat] B[ritain]. If he really owed £10,000, he would have a just right to order his friends to apply to the king's exchequer for the sum lost, or not to order it at all, at least for the present, for this reason especially,—that, had the merchants of London consented to promote the unjustifiable system of the B[ritish] ministry against the Colonies, the court of G[reat] B[ritain] would have been at first discouraged and diverted from their impolitic and tyrannical projection; and herein those merchants would have proved themselves not only friends to the commerce, but to the whole interest, of the B[ritish] nation, as they must be very soon clearly convinced, by the fatal issue of their ill-judged support, when it shall appear to them that they have irretrievably lost all the Colonies, with the control of the whole commerce; which, if the civil war is further continued, must inevitably be the case; as, indeed, indignation on the one side, and just resentment, resistance, and opposition on the other, are now risen to such a height, that submission on the most favorable terms which G[reat] B[ritain] will deign to offer or comply with would be really unsafe, and might, in the course of things, subject the Colonies to a far more dangerous condition than they have been in heretofore. But I am fully persuaded, *that the set time is come*, and that the all-wise Governor of men and things hath already clearly pointed it out in the seasonable and extraordinary assistance which *he* has been pleased under our peculiar embarrassments graciously to afford us. We must confess, they not only surmount all our public merits, but also every thing which we had any reason to expect or hope for. With the Psalmist, “we may sing unto the Lord; for he hath dealt bountifully with us.” If we may not say with him, that “he hath not dealt so with any nation,” we may yet venture to say, that he hath seldom dealt thus with any except “his chosen people.” May we have the favor of be-

coming such, under his chastening hand, that "he may heal the broken in heart, and bind up their wounds;" that "he may build up the waste places" of our capital, and "gather together the outcast of his people"! And as our deliverance thus far has been attended with such marks of the *Divine superintendency*, unless forfeited by pride and vainglory, we may hope and trust, that, with his "mighty power and stretched-out arm," the Almighty will complete the salvation and deliverance of his people, throughout this whole continent, from the cruel and iniquitous hand of *those*, who, without the least pretence or shadow of justice, have, in so violent and unprecedented a manner, risen up against them.

We just now received advice of Governor Martin and his regulators being defeated at North Carolina, and expect a similar account of the E[arl] of Dunmore, the atrocious criminal of Virginia, and of Governor Carlton at Quebec.

My son G.* this day returned from Boston, and tells me your m[ansion]-house, with the outside fences and the stables, &c., appear to be in good order: and I am informed by one Mr. Williams, who was in Boston the day after evacuation, and was assured, that General Pigot, who lived in the house, I think, during the w[inter] season, had left it in a cleanly state; and, further, that the wine and other stores had been left as he found them; which I have advised Mr. H[ancock] of Hope may prove true. I rejoice with you both in the good hand of a kind P[rovidence], who has seen fit (in mercy, I hope) to spare from the *flames* (to which your nephew wrote me, eighth current, that he had resigned the whole interest, then expecting to hear of its consumption) so large an estate as you had there. And upon the whole, notwithstanding the permitted violence of the invaders in the destruction of so great a part of the town, the inhabitants have great cause of thankfulness for the preservation of so large a part of the

* Probably son in-law Greenleaf.

most valuable real interest of the place ; and I would hope, that, as the past severe trials (though from the wicked hand of oppression and injustice) spring not out of the dust nor come out of the ground, the respective sufferers will religiously and cheerfully commit their cause unto *Him* “ who executeth judgment for the oppressed, and giveth food to the hungry,” and confide in him ; that their losses will, in his own due time and way, be abundantly remunerated to them or theirs in *this world*, or infinitely compensated in the blessings of the *future* ; agreeable to what the apostle assureth us, “ that our light afflictions, which are but for a moment, shall work out for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory ; while we look not at the things which are seen, which are temporal ; but at the things which are not seen, which are eternal.” A noble support of the faith of the *real Christian*, under the chastening dispensation of an all-wise and gracious Providence ; and I trust there have been and are many such in and of the late distressed and afflicted town of your *nativity*. And may God of his infinite mercy grant, that his judgments, which are so visible abroad on the earth, may effectually cause the inhabitants of that town (formerly so much noted for religion and morals) and of the whole land to learn righteousness ! And may *he* thereupon early restore peace in our borders, preserve health in our habitations, and in great favor give us such seasonable seedtime and so plentiful an harvest as that there may be no complaining of want in our streets ! We have yet two or three king’s ships lying below ; we suppose, to give intelligence of the late evacuation, and of the destination of the fleet. We suppose them to be gone to H[alifa]x, to lie there till the next arrives from E[ngland]. Probable, unless a war calls them home, they will, in separate squadrons, harass the A[merican] coasts, and spread desolation among the indefensible seaports. I hope there are not many such. As to their landing armies

in any of the Colonies, they are by this time, and will be, so fully apprised of our being prepared almost everywhere to receive them, that they will avoid enterprises on shore as much as may be. Your nephew informs me, that, in the Southern Provinces, they are prepared and preparing to give them a drubbing wherever they come. Our people are erecting such batteries on Long Island and other places as probably will drive every foreign vessel out of the harbor, and prevent their future entrance. The works already erected on D[orchester] Hill, and erecting on Fort Hill in Boston, on Castle Island, and proposed on Governor's Island, and elsewhere near *the town*, I hope, will (under Divine Providency) be an adequate defence against every future invader of its tranquillity. But may the inhabitants, through the spiritual counsels of the teachers, by the powerful influences of the Spirit of Truth, be enabled "to put on the whole armor of God, and to stand fast in the liberty where-with Christ hath made them free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage"! Boston must, for some time at least, be continued a garrisoned town, but for its defence, and not its *annoyance*; and, I trust, under such regulation and control of the civil law and magistrate as may prevent the usual licentiousness in such a case.

My last advice from P[hiladelphia] was the tenth current. Then your nephew and niece were in usual health; the former amazingly active in the continental affairs, considering the slender state of his health, which we hope action may have a tendency to restore, or continue as it is. My daughter K. regrets the distance of your situation, having not received the least advice of your health for near six months. This, I hope, may find you in a better state of health than you have usually enjoyed for some years. I presume you will have no thought of leaving Fairfield till your N. and N.* shall be

* Probably "nephew and niece."

able to quit Philadelphia; which, I hope, may be the ensuing summer,—perhaps sooner, if any European war should be commenced sooner; which is not improbable. But these things are in the hands of the all-wise superintending Governor of the universe, who, we trust, will, in his infinite goodness, allot such an issue to our present A[merican] disturbances as may tend to the advancement of his *own glory, universal peace and good-will among men*. We may especially hope that a happy change in the Constitution of these Colonies may, without a repeated control of the B[ritish] Court for the sake of prelacy, spread the knowledge of civil life, and of the genuine principles of Christianity, through all the native tribes of North America; that they may be effectually instructed and persuaded “to beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and to love or learn war no more.”

My son and daughter G., sister K. and niece, join in sincere respect and regard to yourself, Mr. B. and lady, with, dear madam, your most obliged friend and very humble servant,

E. Q.

This being open for want of conveyance,—April 2,—I noted to Mr. Hancock the news of the regulars landing at Newport.

[For the following notice of Edmund Quincy, the writer of the foregoing letters, and of his brother, Josiah Quincy, merchants and copartners, the Society is under obligation to Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, of Boston:—

From the correspondence of Messrs. Edmund and Josiah Quincy, it is evident they ranked high among the active and enterprising merchants of Boston in the last century. The former was graduated at Harvard in 1722; the latter, in 1728. In 1737, when Josiah Quincy accompanied his father, Judge

Edmund Quincy, to England, their mercantile relations were already extensive; and it appears they were engaged in ship-building, as he immediately contracted to build a vessel of two hundred tons for a London merchant, to be employed in the whale-fishery. After the death of his father, in February, 1738, Josiah Quincy visited Holland and France, and established correspondences in Cadiz and Paris; in Amsterdam, with the Messrs. Hope; in London, with Slingsby Bethel (Lord Mayor in 1756). In the West Indies, their correspondents were the Messrs. Lloyd; in Newport, Rhode Island, Messrs. Channing and Chaloner. Among the numerous names on their account-books, those of Sir William Pepperell, and Colonel Dwight of Berkshire, frequently occur. From the former they received the produce of the fisheries for exportation; and the latter was their agent for the care of one thousand acres of land in Lenox, granted to the heirs of Judge Edmund Quincy by the Legislature of Massachusetts, out of gratitude for his public services. Josiah Quincy again visited Europe in 1740, '42, '48; and in a letter to his brother, dated "Paris, 1748," he states that his object in visiting that city was to obtain "a contract from the French Government for supplying their garrison at Louisburg with provisions, *when it is restored to them*. I have had an audience of Count Maurepas, who seemed inclined to accept my proposals; but there is a delay in the affair, on account, as I imagine, of some new difficulties between the plenipotentiaries at Aix la Chapelle. I am also soliciting a contract in England to supply the intended settlement at Cape Sable." During this visit to Paris, a letter from Mr. Bethel, dated "London, Aug. 25," informed him that "the ship 'Bethel,' belonging to the firm of Edmund and Josiah Quincy and Edward Jackson, had taken at midnight, without firing a single gun, a Spanish register ship, with one hundred and seventy thousand dollars in gold on board, beside a cargo valued at three hundred thousand; altogether amounting, in probable value, to a hun-

dred thousand pounds sterling." England being then at war with Spain, the ship was carried into Fayal, and condemned as a lawful prize. A letter from Benjamin Pratt, afterwards Chief-Justice of New York, to Josiah Quincy, proves that this transaction was regarded in a favorable and honorable light by that eminent lawyer.

Josiah Quincy returned to Boston in 1749, and soon after dissolved partnership with his brother, and retired to Braintree. In Boston, his residence was in a large mansion (yet standing) in Washington Street, south of the entrance to Central Court.

Edmund Quincy, at that period, resided in a house opposite Trinity Church, in Summer Street, which afterwards became the property of Samuel Salisbury. He entered into partnership with his sons, lost his property, and, in 1769, sold his father's house and estate in Braintree. This mansion, which equals those erected by the Vassals in the beginning of the last century, yet stands in good preservation (1859). During the remainder of his life, Edmund Quincy resided in Boston. He published "A Treatise on Hemp Husbandry," and found resources in a taste for classical and general literature. For many years he was a magistrate of the county of Suffolk, and enjoyed the respect of his fellow-citizens.

Josiah Quincy, in 1752, entered into business with General Palmer, and established the first glass-works in America, and spermaceti-works on a peninsula in Braintree, — now Quincy, — which, from a colony of Germans they employed as workmen, has received the name of Germantown. Both enterprises were terminated by the American Revolution. In 1755, he was appointed, by Governor Shirley, on a commission with Thomas Pownall, to solicit the Colony of Pennsylvania to unite with Massachusetts in sending an expedition to erect a fortress near Ticonderoga. At Philadelphia, he formed an acquaintance with Benjamin Franklin, which resulted in a

permanent friendship.* After the loss of two houses by fire, he erected, in 1770,—on his portion of a tract of land purchased by his ancestor, Edmund Quincy, in 1635, of an Indian sachem,—the mansion now the summer residence of his grandson Josiah Quincy. There he resided during the American war; and, from one of his letters to General Washington, it appears that Franklin and Bowdoin, with Dr. Cooper and Dr. Winthrop, visited him in October, 1775, and that “their conversation turned on the cruelty they were daily suffering from the vengeance of a tyrannical government.”

Josiah Quincy was described by John Adams as distinguished for polished and graceful manners, and for the elegance of his dress and appointments. He lived to witness the termination of the contest for independence; and, although his property was lessened by the Revolution, he left at his death, in 1784, a valuable estate. His brother, Edmund Quincy, with whom he always sustained an affectionate friendship, survived him, and died in 1788, at the age of eighty-five.]

On the table in front of the President was placed a beautiful antique breast-pin, having on the front a device,—an eagle driving away a lion, with a liberty-cap in view; and, on the back, beneath a glass covering, the hair of the proscribed patriots, Samuel Adams and John Hancock. This pin is the property of F. O. Prince, Esq., having been transmitted to him by Marshall James Prince.

A still more precious relic attracted the attention of the members: this was the gorget of General Wash-

* See Franklin's Autobiography.

ington, a description of which is given below, in Mr. Quincy's own words.

The gorget of General Washington was a part of his uniform, when, as colonel in the service of the State of Virginia, he served under General Braddock in the war of 1756; having the arms of the State of Virginia engraved thereon. It is represented in the engraving of Washington at the age of forty, and forms the frontispiece to the first volume of Mr. Sparks's "Life of Washington."

This precious relic came to my possession under the following circumstances: From 1805 to 1813, I was one of the representatives of the State of Massachusetts, in the Congress of the United States, from Suffolk District. During these years, I had the happiness, with my wife, to form an acquaintance with Mrs. Martha Peter (formerly Custis), the wife of Thomas Peter, Esq., of Tudor Place, in the District of Columbia. There sprang up between both families — particularly between Mrs. Peter and my wife — a great intimacy, the result of mutual respect and also co-incidence in political feeling and opinion, which, at that period, constituted a bond of great strength. She was a woman of great personal beauty, highly accomplished, intellectual, elevated in spirit and sentiment, and worthy of the relation which she held of grand-daughter to George Washington.

When in 1813, on resigning my seat in Congress, I called at Tudor Place to take leave, Mrs. Peter, after stating the interest she felt in me and Mrs. Quincy, asked my acceptance of the "gorget of Washington, with the ribbon attached to it, which" she said "she had received at the division of her grandfather's estate." About that time, there had been formed in Boston a political association bearing the name of the Washington Benevolent Society, having for its object the support of the views and principles of Washington; of which I was one of the Vice-Presidents: and I immediately suggested the

propriety, and asked her leave, to present, in her name, that precious relic to that society. She expressed her gratification at the suggestion, saying, "that she knew of no place where the principles of Washington had been more uniformly cherished, or were likely to be more highly prized or preserved longer, than in the town of Boston."

Accordingly, on my return in April, 1813, I made a formal statement of the above circumstances to the Washington Benevolent Society, and presented the gorget, in her name, to that society. The gift was gratefully and formally received and acknowledged by a vote of the society, signed by Arnold Welles, President; and William Sullivan, Josiah Quincy, Samuel Messinger, John C. Warren, and Benjamin Russell, Vice-Presidents. A record of the gift, of the vote of thanks, and of all the proceedings, was written upon parchment, and deposited in a box especially adapted for its preservation, and an account of the doings of the society officially transmitted to Mrs. Peter.

The gorget remained in that situation, under the care of the society, for five or six years, until its final dissolution, when, by a vote of the society, it was formally placed in my custody; and I immediately wrote to Mrs. Peter a statement of the circumstances, offering to return the gorget to her. She was pleased to reply, that it was her wish that I should retain it in my possession, and make such disposition of it as I saw fit.

Mr. QUINCY read, from the third volume of a series of diaries kept by his father, an animated description of the riot excited by opposition to the Stamp Act, during which Governor Hutchinson's books and papers were destroyed; of the appearance of the Chief-Justice, the subsequent day, in court; and of his remarks on that occasion. This account was written when his father was twenty-one years old. It is dated Aug. 27, 1765,

the day after the disturbance; and closes with very spirited comments, in the peculiarly forcible style of the distinguished author, on the value and abuses of liberty.

Mr. Quincy has kindly furnished for the Proceedings the extracts from his father's diary referred to as above:—

Aug. 27, 1765.—There cannot, perhaps, be found in the records of time a more flagrant instance to what a pitch of infatuation an incensed populace may arise than the last night afforded. The destructions, demolitions, and ruins caused by the rage of the Colonies in general—perhaps too justly inflamed—at that singular and ever-memorable statute called the Stamp Act, will make the present year one of the most remarkable eras in the annals of North America. And that peculiar inflammation, which fired the breasts of the people of New England in particular, will always distinguish them as the warmest lovers of liberty; though undoubtedly, in the fury of revenge against those who they thought had disclaimed the name of sons, for that of enslavers and oppressive tax-masters of their native country, they committed acts totally unjustifiable.

The populace of Boston, about a week since, had given a very notable instance of their detestation of the above unconstitutional Act, and had sufficiently shown in what light they viewed the man who would undertake to be the stamp distributor.* But, not content with this, the last night they again assembled in King's Street; where, after having kindled a fire, they proceeded, in two separate bodies, to attack the houses of two gentlemen† of distinction, who, it had been

* Andrew Oliver, Esq., Secretary of the Province, whose loss was estimated, by the Committee of the Council, at £129. 3s. sterling.

† Benjamin Hallowell, Esq., Comptroller; and William Storey, Esq., Deputy-Registrar of the Admiralty. The loss of Mr. Hallowell was estimated by the aforesaid Committee at £412. 9s. 1d. sterling; and Mr. Storey's, at £102. 1s. 6d. sterling.

suggested, were accessories to the present burthens; and did great damage in destroying their houses, furniture, &c., and irreparable damage in destroying their papers. Both parties, who before had acted separately, then unitedly proceeded to the Chief-Justice's * house, who, not expecting them, was unattended by his friends, who might have assisted, or proved his innocence. In this situation, all his family, it is said, abandoned the house, but himself and his eldest daughter, whom he repeatedly begged to depart; but as he found all ineffectual, and her resolution fixed to stay and share his fate, with a tumult of passions only to be imagined, he took her in his arms, and carried her to a place of safety, just before the incensed mob arrived. This filial affection saved, it is more than probable, his life. Thus unexpected, and nothing removed from the house, an ample field offered to satiate, if possible, this rage-intoxicated rabble. They beset the house on all sides, and soon destroyed every thing of value: † —

“Furor arma ministrat.” — *Virgil*.

The destruction was really amazing; for it was equal to the fury of the onset. But what above all is to be lamented is the loss of some of the most valuable records of the country, and other ancient papers; for, as his Honor was continuing his history, the oldest and most important writings and records of the Province, which he had selected with great care, pains, and expense, were in his possession. This is a loss greatly to be deplored, as it is absolutely irretrievable.

The distress a man must feel on such an occasion can only be conceived by those who the next day ‡ saw his Honor the Chief-Justice come into court, with a look big with the greatest

* Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of the Province.

† The loss sustained by the Chief-Justice, supposed to be upwards of £3,000 sterling; afterwards estimated by the Council Committee at £2,376. 13s. 4d. sterling.

‡ First day of the Superior Court's sitting.

anxiety, clothed in a manner which would have excited compassion from the hardest heart, though his dress had not been strikingly contrasted by the other judges and bar, who appeared in their robes. Such a man in such a station, thus habited, with tears starting from his eyes, and a countenance which strongly told the inward anguish of his soul,—what must an audience have felt, whose compassion had before been moved by what they knew he had suffered, when they heard him pronounce the following words in a manner which the agitations of his mind dictated?

AUGUST TERM, 3 George III. in B. R., &c.—Present: The Hon. Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., Chief-Justice; John Cushing, Peter Oliver, Esqs., Justices.

The Chief-Justice, addressing the whole court, said,—

“GENTLEMEN,—There not being a quorum of the court without me, I am obliged to appear. Some apology is necessary for my dress: indeed, I had no other. Destitute of every thing,—no other shirt; no other garment but what I have on; and not one in my whole family in a better situation than myself. The distress of a whole family around me, young and tender infants hanging about me, are infinitely more insupportable than what I feel for myself, though I am obliged to borrow part of *this* clothing.

“Sensible that I am innocent, that all the charges against me are false, I can’t help feeling: and though I am not obliged to give an answer to all the questions that may be put me by every lawless person, yet I call God to witness,—and I would not, for a thousand worlds, call my Maker to witness to falsehood,—I say, I call my Maker to witness, that I never, in New England or Old, in Great Britain or America, neither directly nor indirectly, was aiding, assisting, or supporting—in the least promoting or encouraging—what is commonly called the Stamp Act; but, on the contrary, did all in my power, and strove as much as in me lay, to prevent it. This is not declared through timidity; for I have nothing to fear. They can only take away my life, which is of but little value when deprived of all its comforts, all that was dear to me, and nothing surrounding me but the most piercing distress.

“I hope the eyes of the people will be opened, that they will see how easy it is for some designing, wicked man to spread false reports, to raise suspicions and jealousies in the minds of the populace, and enrage them against the innocent; but, if guilty, this is not the way to proceed. The laws of our country are open to punish those who have offended. This destroying all peace and order of the community, —all will feel its effects; and I hope all will see how easily the people may be deluded, inflamed, and carried away with madness against an innocent man.

“I pray God give us better hearts!”

The court was then adjourned, on account of the riotous disorders of the preceding night, and universal confusion of the town, to the 15th of October following.

Learn wisdom from the present times! O ye sons of Ambition! beware lest a thirst of power prompt you to enslave your country! O ye sons of Avarice! beware lest the thirst for gold excite you to enslave your native country! O ye sons of Popularity! beware lest a thirst for applause move you groundlessly to inflame the minds of the people! For the end of slavery is misery to the world, your country, fellow-citizens, and children; the end of popular rage, destruction, desolation, and ruin.

Who, that sees the fury and instability of the populace, but would seek protection under the arm of power? Who, that beholds the tyranny and oppression of arbitrary power, but would lose his life in defence of his liberty? Who, that marks the riotous tumult, confusion, and uproar of a democratic, the slavery and distress of a despotic, state, — the infinite miseries attendant on both, — but would fly for refuge from the mad rage of the one, and oppressive power of the other, to that best asylum, that glorious medium, the British Constitution? Happy people who enjoy this blessed constitution! Happy, thrice happy people, if ye preserve it inviolate! May ye never lose it through a licentious abuse of your invaluable rights and blood-purchased liberties! May

ye never forfeit it by a tame and infamous submission to the yoke of slavery and lawless despotism !

“Remember, O my friends ! the laws, the rights,
The generous plan of power delivered down,
From age to age, by your renowned forefathers,
So dearly bought, the price of so much blood :
Oh ! let it never perish in your hands,
But piously transmit it to your children.
Do thou, great Liberty ! inspire our souls,
And make our lives in thy possession happy,
Or our death glorious in thy just defence.”

An interesting conversation ensued relating to the battle of Lexington, in which Messrs. Washburn, Sibley, Paige, Ellis, R. Frothingham, jun., Adams, Savage, and Sabine participated.

On motion of Mr. LIVERMORE, it was unanimously *Voted*, That the Standing Committee have full authority to publish such a selection from the recent Proceedings of the Society as they may deem to be of general interest.

MAY MEETING.

The Society held its stated monthly meeting on Thursday, May 13, at twelve o'clock, M., at their rooms in Tremont Street, Boston ; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the Chicago Historical Society ; the Maryland Historical Society ; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania ; Samuel A. Green, M.D. ; L. A. Huguet Latour, Esq. ; B. P. Johnson, Esq. ; William Menzies, Esq. ; William H. Polk,

Esq.; B. R. Winthrop, Esq.; and from Messrs. R. Frothingham, jun., Sibley, Warren, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from Lord Lyndhurst, accepting his election as an Honorary Member of the Society.

The Cabinet-keeper presented a cannon-ball, which was dug up near the "Clark House," in Lexington, Mass.; a gift to the Society from James Shipley, Esq.; for which the thanks of the Society were voted to the donor.

The President read a letter from Mr. Longfellow, inviting the members of the Society to meet at his house in Cambridge, the head-quarters of Washington, on the seventeenth day of June next, — the anniversary of the day of the battle of Bunker Hill. Whereupon, the President was requested to acknowledge the civility of Mr. Longfellow, and accept the invitation.

MR. WARREN presented to the Society the Letter-book of Governor Belcher, when Governor of New Jersey in the years 1752 and 1754.

JOSIAH G. HOLLAND, M.D., of Springfield, and the REV. CHARLES BROOKS, of Medford, were elected Resident Members; and RICHARD HILDRETH, Esq., of New York, and REV. A. P. PEABODY, D.D., of Portsmouth, N.H., Corresponding Members, of the Society.

MR. DEANE, from the Standing Committee, made a statement of the estimated cost of publishing the new catalogue of the Society's library, and also laid before the meeting specimens of the first page, in different type, with a view to obtaining from the members an

expression of their preference as to the style which should be selected.

Mr. CLIFFORD, after a few earnest and appropriate remarks with reference to the value of a printed catalogue and the importance of its early publication, presented to the meeting a subscription-paper, which had already received the signatures of several of the members of the Society, the terms of which are as follows: —

“With a view to secure the earliest publication of the catalogue of the library, as now proposed for the press, the undersigned agree to pay, on or before the first day of January next, the sums set against their names, respectively; for which they are to be credited, and allowed to take such volumes of the Society’s publications as they may desire, within one year from this time, at the prices charged to members.

“BOSTON, May 13, 1858.”

Mr. SAVAGE read an interesting and characteristic letter from S. A. Otis to James Otis the elder, with a view of correcting what Mr. Savage considered to be a misconception — notwithstanding the general prevalence of the opinion — regarding the cause of the loss of the mental faculties of the great patriot, James Otis. The letter contained evidence of the existence of a tendency to insanity in the younger Otis, which manifested itself at an early period of his life. Mr. Savage regarded this testimony as sufficient to refute the received notion, that the violence inflicted upon him in State Street was the occasion of the sad mental eclipse under which he suffered towards the close of his life.

JUNE MEETING.

The Society held its stated monthly meeting on Thursday, June 17, at twelve o'clock, m., at their rooms in Tremont Street, Boston ; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the States of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and South Carolina ; the Historical Society of Tennessee ; the Trustees of the Perkins Institution ; the Salem Athenæum ; the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia ; Lieutenant-Colonel J. D. Grahame, U.S.A. ; J. S. Warren, Esq. ; Daniel T. Taylor, Esq. ; Samuel A. Green, M.D. ; James Lenox, Esq. ; Hon. William T. Davis ; General De Peyster, New York ; and from Messrs. Ellis, Livermore, Robbins, Warren, Whitney, and Winthrop, of the Society.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the President read letters of acceptance from Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D. ; and J. G. Holland, M.D.

Hon. WILLIAM STURGIS, and LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Esq., were elected Resident Members ; Hon. RICHARD RUSH, of Pennsylvania, an Honorary Member ; and Hon. GEORGE P. MARSH, of Vermont, a Corresponding Member, of the Society.

The President read a note from Hon. Josiah Quincy, accompanying an assignment of his whole interest in the "Memoir of John Quincy Adams" to the Society.

The President, in connection with the above-named instrument, laid before the Society a copy of the "Memoir

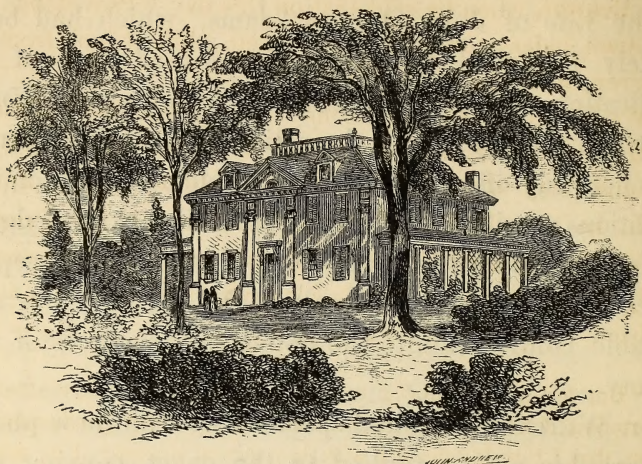
of the Life of John Quincy Adams," which had been politely furnished to the Society in advance of its publication. Whereupon, it was unanimously *Voted*, That this Society accept the assignment of the contract so generously offered by our venerable associate, on the conditions specified in the same; cordially acknowledging and reciprocating the expressions of interest and respect which it contains, and thanking Mr. Quincy for his valuable contribution to the honor and resources of the Society.

Mr. WHITNEY exhibited specimens of the new photolithographic art as applied to the exact copying and printing of old manuscripts.

SPECIAL MEETING.

The Society held a special meeting in the afternoon of this day, the 17th of June (the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill), at the house of Mr. Longfellow, in Cambridge, which, for nine months, was the residence and head-quarters of Washington. The meeting was called to order by the President at half-past five o'clock.

Mr. WINTHROP, in opening the meeting, alluded to the occasion and the place, and also to the circumstances attending the assumption of the command of the American army of 1775 by General Washington. His remarks were substantially as follows:—



Head Quarters of Washington, Cambridge, 1775.

None could have entered this venerable mansion without recalling the words which the accomplished host once addressed to a child, but which are no less adapted to stir the feelings of full-grown men,—

“ Once, ah! once, within these walls,
 One whom memory oft recalls,
 The Father of his Country, dwelt;
 And yonder meadows broad and damp,
 The fires of the besieging camp
 Encircled with a burning belt.
 Up and down these echoing stairs,
 Heavy with the weight of cares,
 Sounded his majestic tread:
 Yes, within this very room
 Sat he in those hours of gloom,
 Weary both in heart and head.”

The day is memorable as the anniversary of the first great battle for American liberty. But it is hardly a less interesting circumstance, in view of the place of the meeting, that Washington's commission, as commander-in-chief of the American armies, was prefaced and dated on this same day,—a circumstance which gave opportunity for the beautiful allusion of

Mr. Everett, when he said that on this day "Providence kept an even balance with the cause, and, while it took from us a Warren, gave us a Washington."

Washington was unanimously elected commander-in-chief, at the call of Massachusetts (as Mr. Bancroft, in his new volume, well says), on the 15th of June, 1775. On the 16th, he was informed of the election by the President of the Continental Congress, in presence of the assembled body; when he accepted it in a speech, of which one sentence, at least, should never be forgotten:—

"But lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with."

History has already pronounced its judgment upon that memorable disclaimer of one to whom it was justly said by the Speaker of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, at the close of the French war, "Your modesty is equal to your valor; and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess."

On the 17th of June, a committee, composed of Mr. Lee, Mr. Rutledge, and Mr. John Adams, reported his commission; which was adopted, and ordered to be signed by the President,—our own Massachusetts *John Hancock*.

Washington lost little time in repairing to the post which had been thus assigned him. Mr. Irving tells us, that, on the 20th, he received his commission from Hancock. On the 21st, he set out from Philadelphia on horseback, accompanied by General Charles Lee and General Schuyler.

When twenty miles out from Philadelphia, he is stated to have met a courier, in hot haste, with despatches giving an account of the battle of Bunker Hill,—thus showing the rapidity with which the news travelled in those days, when

there were neither railroads nor telegraphs, and when the common roads were so rough and wretched. Four days from Bunker Hill to Philadelphia! The interview with the courier was most memorable. Washington inquired the particulars: "Above all, how acted the militia?" And when told how well they stood their ground, and reserved their fire, he exclaimed, "The liberties of the country are safe!" He reached Newark, N.J., on the 25th, and was escorted to New York by a Committee of the New-York Provincial Congress the same day.

The circumstances of his reception at New York were not a little amusing. The British Governor, Tryon, it seems, was to arrive the same day. A small escort was ordered for both, and a larger one to be in readiness for whichever came first. Washington arrived first, and received all the honors; but the grand escort, three hours afterwards, was at leisure to do the same honors to Governor Tryon, and actually paid them. Washington left New York on the 26th, and arrived at Watertown, as Mr. Irving says, on the second day of July, where he was greeted by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts with a congratulatory address.

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts had taken previous measures for his reception and accommodation. On Saturday afternoon, the 24th of June, they passed a significant "order, *that the proclamation for a fast be suspended*;" as if Washington's coming (like the arrival of that well-remembered shipload of provisions for the starving Massachusetts Colony in 1630) was reason enough for changing a fast into a thanksgiving, or certainly for suspending it. Immediately afterwards, they appointed a committee of seven to devise measures for receiving Washington, and to provide a house for him. This committee reported, on Sunday afternoon, the 25th; but the detailed report was not considered and adopted until Monday the 26th.

The report was as follows:—

Resolved, That a committee of two be appointed to repair to Springfield, there to receive Generals Washington and Lee with every mark of respect due to their exalted characters and stations; to provide proper escorts for them from thence to the army before Boston, and the house provided for their reception at Cambridge; and to make suitable provision for them in manner following, viz.: By a number of gentlemen of this Colony from Springfield to Brookfield, and by another company, there provided, from thence to Marlborough, and from thence, by the troops of horse in that place, to the army aforesaid, and their company at the several stages on the road, and to receive the bills of expenses at the several inns where it may be convenient for them to stop for refreshment, to examine them and make report of the several sums expended at each of them for that purpose, that orders may be taken by the Congress for the payment of them; and all innkeepers are hereby directed to make provision agreeable to the requests made by the said committee; and that General Ward be notified of the appointment of General Washington as commander-in-chief of the American forces, and of the expectation we have of his speedy arrival, with Major-General Lee, that he, with the generals of the forces of the other Colonies, may give such orders for their honorable reception as may accord with the rules and circumstances of the army, and the respect due to their rank; without, however, any expense of powder, and without taking the troops off from the necessary attention to their duty at this crisis of our affairs.

Resolved, That the President's house,* in Cambridge, — excepting one room reserved by the President for his own use, — be taken, cleared, prepared, and furnished for the reception of General Washington and General Lee; and that a committee be chosen immediately to carry the same into execution.

Dr. Church and Mr. Gill, with Major Hawley, were ordered to be of this committee to go and receive Washington at Springfield; but Hawley was too important to be spared for errands of ceremony, and was excused. Washington and General Lee were ordered, it will be perceived, to be received

* It was this phrase, "the President's house," which led Irving into the mistake which he has corrected in vol. ii. chap. 1.

with all the respect due to their rank, but with the significant proviso, "without any expense of powder." That article was too scarce to be wasted on salutes. Yet Irving tells us, doubtless not without authority, that he proceeded to headquarters at Cambridge on the 2d, after the ceremony at Watertown; and that, "as he entered the confines of the camp, the shouts of the multitude and *the thundering of artillery* gave note to the enemy, beleagured in Boston, of his arrival."

This would fix the entrance of Washington into the mansion, in which we are gathered, for the 2d of July. But there is some conflict of dates upon this point, entirely capable, however, of satisfactory explanation. Washington's first official letter to the President of the Continental Congress, as contained in Peter Force's Archives (vol. ii. 4th series, p. 1624), is dated July 10, 1775, "Camp at Cambridge," and commences thus:—

"Sir, — I arrived at this place on the 3d instant, after a journey attended with a good deal of fatigue, and retarded by necessary attentions to the successive civilities which accompanied me on my whole route. Upon my arrival, I immediately visited the several posts occupied by our troops," &c.

This letter speaks of his arrival on the 3d instant. Irving says the 2d, and makes it out the same day that he was received by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts at Watertown. But the records of the Provincial Congress at Watertown, as contained in Force's Archives (vol. ii. pp. 1472 and 1473), contain the address of the Congress, and *Washington's reply*, under date of Saturday afternoon, July 1. Mr. Frothingham, however, informs us that Washington's reply to the address of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts was on the 4th of July. If this be so, its insertion in the records of the Provincial Congress of the 1st was only *nunc pro tunc*, in order to bring the reply into immediate connection with the address at the time it was *reported* and agreed upon, — and Mr. Irving's statement is reconciled; and the

fact will appear that Washington arrived at Watertown on the 2d, received the address, and proceeded to Cambridge on the same day.

But there is still another authority. In the records of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, July 4, afternoon (Archives, vol. ii. p. 1480), there is a letter ordered to be sent to Governor Trumbull, which contains the following passage:—

“We have the pleasure to be able to acquaint your honor, that Generals Washington and Lee, with Mr. Mifflin, aid-de-camp to General Washington, arrived at Cambridge last sabbath, in poor health, a little after twelve o'clock at noon; and have great reason to expect, from their known characters, and their activity and vigilance, already discovered, that their presence in the army will be attended with most happy consequences.”

Now, that sabbath-day was the 2d of July; and this date agrees with both Irving and Frothingham, the latter of whom says Washington “reached Cambridge on the 2d of July, about two o'clock, escorted by a cavalcade of citizens and a troop of light horse.” Mr. Frothingham adds, “On the 3d, he assumed the command of the army.” This would account for Washington's first despatch from the camp at Cambridge, saying, “We arrived here on the 3d;” meaning that he assumed command of the army on that day.

A comparison of all the authorities would seem thus to establish the point, that Washington came first to this house on Sunday, the 2d of July, 1775, between twelve and two o'clock; and remained quietly here until the next day, when he proceeded to make his official appearance at camp.

There was an alarm that the British were about making an attack just at that moment, and Washington probably made all the haste in his power; and both he and the Provincial Congress were compelled to adopt the doctrine that there are no Sundays in revolutions.

Whether Washington brought the buff and blue uniform with him, or when he adopted it, has sometimes been doubted; but Thatcher writes, July 20, that he saw him, and describes his dress as "a blue coat with buff-colored facings," &c. — Frothingham, 222.

It is not among the least striking circumstances of this passage of Washington's history, that he should have been escorted into Massachusetts and to the head-quarters at Cambridge by Dr. Church, whom, a few months afterwards, he himself was compelled to arrest and imprison as a traitor; and that his immediate companion, to whom Massachusetts paid almost equal honor as to him (the address to whom was even more panegyric and cordial), should have been General Charles Lee, who, in 1778, was dismissed from the American army under circumstances almost as equivocal.

Before leaving the subject altogether, Mr. Winthrop referred to another confusion of dates in connection with one of the more important events of Washington's career. In every published copy of Washington's "Farewell Address" which he had seen, until a few months ago, the date has uniformly been Sept. 17, 1796; and all have been disposed to regard it as no accidental coincidence, that it should have borne date on the anniversary of the day on which the Constitution of the United States itself was signed by the convention of which Washington was President.

But a few months ago, Mr. Winthrop received one of Mr. Lenox's beautiful large paper copies of the address, from the Claypoole MS.; and there he found the date, Sept. 19, 1796. About ten days since, he had the gratification of passing an hour with Mr. Lenox in his own magnificent mansion, in New York, where he

kindly placed this invaluable manuscript in his hand. The date is in Washington's clear and unmistakable hand, like all the rest of this paper, with all the original alterations and corrections; and it is indisputably Sept. 19. Yet even the edition of 1796, of which a copy has recently come to us from Dr. Belknap's collection, is dated Sept. 17. Mr. Winthrop knows not how to account for this discrepancy.

The President read letters from Washington Irving and William H. Prescott, members of the Society, expressing regret at being obliged to be absent from the meeting; and he also received a letter from the venerable Richard Rush to the same effect.

Mr. PAIGE communicated the following reminiscences of the Vassal Family, and of the mansion in which the Society were assembled:—

Colonel John Vassall (H. C. 1732) married, 10th October, 1734, Elizabeth, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Spencer Phips; and had John; Ruth, who married Edward Davis, of Boston; and Elizabeth, who married Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Oliver, of Cambridge. He bought the estate, 26th July, 1736, and probably erected the house, now owned by Samuel Batchelder, Esq., opposite to the Washington Headquarters. His wife died 22d September, 1739; and he sold his mansion, 30th December, 1741, to his brother, Colonel Henry Vassall. Where he resided for the next few years, I know not: but he bought, 17th January, 1746, a house and about six acres of land, opposite to his former mansion, and adjoining the Head-quarters; about which time he was again married. His early death, which occurred 27th November, 1747, probably prevented the erection of a new edifice.

His widow, Lucy, subsequently married Benjamin Ellery; and their only daughter, Lucy, married John Lavicourt, of Antigua. Colonel Vassall was subject to the jealousies and annoyances which frequently attend the possession of great riches. The Middlesex Court-Records for January, 1741, show that Samuel Whittemore (who subsequently signalized his bravery, at the age of seventy-nine years, by an active participation in the battle on the 19th of April, 1775), had expressed publicly his opinion, that Colonel Vassall was no more fit for a Selectman than his horse was; whereupon Colonel Vassall commenced an action of defamation, claiming damages in the sum of ten thousand pounds. On trial, the verdict was, that the words spoken were not actionable. Mr. Whittemore then commenced an action against Colonel Vassall for false and malicious imprisonment, and recovered two hundred pounds' damages.

Colonel John Vassall, the younger, upon the death of his father, became the ward of his grandfather Phips, and was heir, by will, to the whole real estate. He graduated (H. C. 1757) a few months after his grandfather's death; and bought, 28th July, 1759, a house and land adjoining that which was purchased by his father in 1746. On this estate, probably on that last purchased, he immediately erected the splendid mansion now owned and occupied by Professor Longfellow, and celebrated as the Head-quarters. By subsequent purchases, he increased the size of his homestead until it embraced nearly fifty acres; besides which, he owned a still greater number of acres in other lots. Having married Elizabeth, sister to Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Oliver, he occupied his mansion until the commencement of the Revolution; when he fled, and his estates were confiscated by the government. The mansion and lands were sold, 4th April, 1782, to Nathaniel Tracy, Esq., then of Newburyport; who conveyed them, 30th October, 1786, to Thomas Russell, merchant, of Boston; by whom they were sold, 1st January,

1793, to Andrew Craigie, Esq., of Cambridge, in whose possession they remained until his death, and afterwards in possession of his widow until her death at a recent period.

As an illustration of the fashions and habits which prevailed a century ago, Mr. Paige read a copy, from the Probate Records, of a receipt for certain articles devised by the elder Colonel Vassall to his son, who afterwards bore the same title.

Cambridge, Nov. 7, 1752. — Then received of Mr. Benjamin Elery, of Cambridge, the articles hereafter mentioned, given by the last will and testament of Colonel John Vassall, late of said town, Esq., deceased, to his son John Vassall: viz., his library, watch, sword, and arms; a velvet coat, laced; an embroidered jacket, silk breeches, a blue velvet coat with gold lace, a camlet coat, a flowered-silk coat and breeches, a paduasoy waistcoat and breeches, scarlet breeches, a scarlet coat, a fustian coat, a cloth coat, an old waistcoat, a pair of new cloth breeches, a banyan, an old great-coat, eighteen pairs of white ribbed stockings, one pair of worsted stockings, a pair of boots, a pair of spurs, a trooping saddle, one laced hat, one plain hat, a pair of pocket-pistols, holsters and caps, saddle-girt, brass stirrups, a silver-hilted sword, a gun, riding-pistols, a silver watch, an old green coat, a black velvet jacket, a bookcase; all which were left in possession of the said Vassall's widow, and whereof the said Elery is hereby discharged, and from all demands for the same.—Witness our hands,

RICHARD BILL,	} Executors of the last Will and Testament of the said John Vassall, Esq.
JOSHUA HENSHAW,	

Nov. 7, 1752. — I, Spencer Phips, Esq., guardian to John Vassall (son of Colonel John Vassall above named), do

hereby acknowledge that I have received of the executors before named the several articles, above enumerated, for and on account of the said John, my pupil; and shall account with him for the same.

S. PHIPS.

Judge SHAW related an anecdote, of which he had been reminded by an allusion in Mr. Paige's statement to Colonel Vassal, the owner, at the time of the Revolution, of the house in which the Society were assembled.

The estate having been confiscated by the government because its owner was a Tory, when the commissioners were putting it up for sale, an old colored man, a slave, who had long served in the Vassal Family, named Tony, stepped forth, and said, that HE was no Tory, but a *friend of liberty*; and, having lived on the estate all his life, he did not see any reason why he should be deprived of his dwelling. On petitioning the General Court, a resolve was framed, granting Tony a stipend of twelve pounds annually.

About 1810 (after Tony's death), Cuba, his widow, went to the State Treasurer to get her stipend; but it was found that the resolve did not include herself. Mr. Shaw, then a member of the House, presented her petition for the continuance of the grant. It met with favor, and the annual sum was voted to Cuba during her natural life.

Mr. WILLARD read a letter from Henry Knox to his wife, with a view, as he said, to show the early service of Knox as an engineer before he joined the army, and the great commendation he received from the highest authority. Mr. Willard stated, in substance, that there could be no vanity in reciting this commendation, as it was written in the unreserved confidence between husband and wife.

There were large works at Roxbury, and Knox had a large share in their plan and construction; though Gridley, as chief engineer, was the ostensible person who would reap all the praise. Gridley was getting old, and, in the fall of '75, was superseded by Henry Knox, until that time a private citizen.

ROXBURY, Lemuel Childs, Thursday morning, six o'clock,
July 6 (?), 1775.

Yesterday, as I was going to Cambridge, I met the generals,* who begged me to return to Roxbury again; which I did. When they had viewed the works, they expressed the greatest pleasure and surprise at their situation and apparent utility, to say nothing of the plan, which did not escape their praise.

You may remember General Lee's letter, which Dr. Church was to have sent into Boston to General Burgoyne. Yesterday, Mr. Webb took it to the lines at Bunker's Hill, when Major Bruce, of the 38th, came out to him (he who fought a duel with General Pigot). Mr. Webb said, "Sir, here is a letter from General Lee to General Burgoyne. Will you be pleased to give it to him? As some part of it requires an immediate answer, I shall be glad you would do it directly. And also here is another letter to a sister of mine in Boston (Mrs. Simpson), to whom I should be glad you would deliver it." The major gave him every assurance that (he) would deliver the letter to Mr. Simpson himself, and to General Burgoyne; but could not do it immediately, as the general was on the other lines (meaning Boston Neck). "General Lee! Good God, sir! is General Lee (there)? (I) served two years with him in Portugal. Tell him, sir, that I am extremely sorry that my profession obliges me to be his

* Washington and Lee.

opposite in this unhappy affair. Can't it be made up? Let me beg of you to use your influence, and endeavor to heal this unnatural breach!" Mr. Webb told him, that it was not the work of one side only, and appointed to meet again this day at eleven o'clock. Previous to this, the General had been down to the lines at Bunker Hill, at which place there was an out-sentry, to whom General Lee spoke, and desired him to tell his officers that he was there, and to inform General Burgoyne that he had a letter for him. This produced a trumpeter, one of the New Light Horse; but without his horse . . . * to General Lee with a letter from General Burgoyne, desiring to receive the letter. General Lee wrote another letter, informing him how he had sent it." . . .

Mr. ADAMS called the attention of members to the fact, that this anniversary was marked by more than one event worthy of commemoration; for, at the same time that the bloody affair in this immediate neighborhood was going on, with the details of which all are familiar, another most interesting act was doing in Philadelphia.

The Federal Congress of 1775 was engaged in maturing and adopting the commission of him whom the members had selected as the Commander-in-chief of the Army of the United Colonies; and, what was still more material, they were entering into a solemn pledge, that they would "maintain and assist him, and adhere to him, the said George Washington, with their lives and fortunes," in the cause of American liberty.

It might, therefore, not seem entirely inappropriate on this day to enter into a brief review of the causes that led to this nomination, especially since the subject had been of late revived by the publication of Mr. Bancroft's last volume. Mr. Adams thought they were to be traced as far back as in the

* Illegible.

preceding Congress, when the delegates from the various Colonies first came together to consult upon their common interests. At that Congress, Washington had appeared as one of the representatives of Virginia, but apparently not yet clear as to what extent it was proper to involve himself in the difficulties into which Massachusetts was plunged. There is reason to suppose that he shared somewhat in the distrust generally felt, south of New England, of the purposes of the Massachusetts leaders. Whilst in this state of mind, he received a letter from Captain MacKenzie. MacKenzie was a native of Virginia, and an acquaintance of Washington, who had taken a commission in the British army, and was at this time attached to one of the regiments stationed at Boston. The object of the letter was to prejudice his mind against the action of the people of Massachusetts, and to induce him to exert his influence to counteract the policy their delegates were advocating in Philadelphia. Determined to satisfy himself as to the true character and designs of these delegates, he seems to have sought an interview and free conference with them at their lodgings. That interview took place on the evening of the 28th of September, 1774. Richard Henry Lee, and Dr. Shippen of Philadelphia, were likewise present. It seems to have settled all Washington's doubts, if he had any; for, instead of noisy, brawling demagogues, meaning mischief only, he found the delegates plain, downright practical men, seeking safety from oppression, and contemplating violence only as the result of an absolute necessity forced on them by the government at home. The effect of this conference is made visible in his answer to MacKenzie, dated on the 9th of October, which is printed in the second volume of Mr. Sparks's work. Mr. Adams regarded that letter as one of the most characteristic as well as important productions that remain to give an insight into his mind.

A few days later, the Congress separated, and the delegates returned to their respective homes. In the month of April

following, the affair at Lexington took place. Its electric effect through the entire extent of the Colonies is well understood. It was the first outbreak of the martial spirit of the whole people. Almost in a moment, there had gathered a great body of armed men around Boston. The next thing was to know what to do with them. It was plain that Massachusetts would be unable to maintain them a great while; yet, if they were permitted to separate, she would be, in a manner, left worse off than if they had not come at all.

It was just at this time that the members of the Second Congress were assembling at Philadelphia. They organized on the 10th of May; and the official papers, detailing the affair at Lexington, were immediately laid before them. The next thing we know of Washington is that he is attending the meetings, dressed in a military uniform, and giving useful advice in all military questions. This fact, which only comes down to us incidentally through an allusion to it in a letter of John Adams to his wife, had ever struck the speaker with great force, as developing the state of feeling of Washington at this period; for it should be remembered, that he was not at the time acting in any military capacity: neither does it appear what was the uniform he wore; probably that of a colonel of Virginia militia. Certainly the attendance of any member of a deliberative body, dressed in uniform, would be regarded as startling at this day. It had always been construed by Mr. Adams as Washington's way of announcing that his mind was made up, and that he was ready to take his place in the ranks in any capacity to which his country should call him. He was no maker of speeches; and this act was more significant than many speeches. It was no solicitation for place after the manner of an office-seeker; for nobody would suspect it of him: but it was the highest aspiration of patriotism, offering to meet danger in any situation in which such services as he could render might avail to defend his country. Viewed in this light, then, it would seem as if, when

answering the much-agitated question, "Who nominated Washington to the chief command?" it might be affirmed that he most unconsciously nominated himself.

Thus much for one side of this question. It remains to consider how the matter came to be agitated within the limits of Massachusetts. It has been intimated that there was a popular demand there for the nomination, and that it was communicated through agents sent to Philadelphia. It may be so: but there is no evidence of it before the public; and such evidence as Mr. Adams possessed tended to show the contrary. The first trace of the suggestion, so far as he knew, was to be found in a letter of James Warren to John Adams, dated 7th May, 1775; or three days before the assembling of the Second Congress at Philadelphia. After commenting on the state of things in Massachusetts, and the necessity of prompt decision in adopting the army, he uses these words: "They seem to want a more experienced direction. I could for myself wish to see your friends Washington and L—— at the head of it; and yet *dare not propose it*, though I have it in contemplation."

It would seem, then, that if James Warren, an active man in public affairs, remained on the 7th of May *afraid* to make the suggestion of Washington's name, there could have been down to that time no possible agitation of the subject in any public form in Massachusetts.

The first application made to the Congress at Philadelphia, in 1775, by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, related to the disordered condition of the civil affairs of the Colony. There was a feeling of great uneasiness at the presence of a large and undisciplined body of armed men, really subject to no recognized authority, and amenable to no civil tribunal in the State; for the courts were all shut up, and obedience to the law was voluntary only. This produced a resolve directing Dr. Church to proceed immediately to Philadelphia, and lay before Congress an address pointing out the cause of their

anxiety, and requesting immediate advice as to the form of government which it would be proper to establish in order to allay it. At the close was annexed a suggestion of the propriety of assuming the direction of the army. This resolve was adopted on the 16th of May. Not a word was said about the chief command. Dr. Church was directed to confer with the Congress respecting such "other matters as may be necessary to the defence of the Colony, and particularly the state of the army therein;" but the manner was left entirely to his discretion. That his authority did not extend to the question of the chief command, is tolerably apparent from the fact, that, on the very next day (May 17), the Provincial Congress entered upon the discussion of the propriety of making out a commission of commander-in-chief for General Ward; that they decided so to do; and that, on the 19th, such a commission was reported and accepted. It appears recorded in full on the journal for that day. Now, it can scarcely be presumed that such a step as this would have been unanimously taken, if there had been any general wish for the immediate selection of another and a different officer, or if any application had been contemplated for such a person outside of the Colony.

With the slow modes of communication of those days, Dr. Church seems not to have reached Philadelphia before the 1st of June. The memorial of which he was the bearer was presented to Congress on the 2d; and he was himself introduced, and told his story, on that day. It does not appear that the question of the command was in any way brought up. The application for advice in forming a government was considered as the paramount subject; and was therefore referred to a committee of five persons on the 3d of June, who reported on the 7th. Their report was adopted on the 9th, and is found recorded on the journal of that day. It was that well-known half-and-half expedient, neither affirming nor denying the nature of the crisis, but recommending an

avoidance of the difficulty by a resort to a provisional government. Dr. Church returned with this result on the 10th. So far as his mission was concerned, it seems thus to have been fulfilled.

The next address from the Provincial Congress, re-iterating the topics of the former, was adopted on the 12th of June. Not a word is there uttered of the chief command. The great anxiety is still for the security of the government. But, as the express bearing this paper did not reach Philadelphia until the 27th of June, its consideration is not material to this discussion.

We now come to the examination of the well-known letter of Mr. Gerry, published, long ago, in his Biography by Mr. Austin. That letter bore date the 4th of June, and was addressed to the delegate of Massachusetts. Towards the end of it, he suggests the expediency of obtaining the services of General Lee, and then adds these words: "I should heartily rejoice to see this way the beloved Colonel Washington; and do not doubt the New-England generals would acquiesce in showing to our sister Colony, Virginia, the respect which she has before experienced from the continent, in making him generalissimo. This is a matter in which Dr. Warren agrees with me; and we had intended to write you jointly on the affair."

It is somewhat doubtful whether this letter could have been received at Philadelphia before the question had been debated and virtually decided. If we are to judge by the speed of the two other expresses already mentioned, it would not have arrived before the 18th of June. The last discussions in Congress took place on the 12th and 14th, and the vote was passed on the 15th. But, even if it had arrived in season, the terms in which it is couched forbid all idea of any general desire prevailing in Massachusetts for the nomination of Washington. It is not a personal feeling, but a motive of political expediency. Deference to Virginia, — that

is assigned as the consideration for acquiescing in the act. Probably, among the people in Massachusetts, there was more confidence felt in Lee, considered merely as a military officer, than in Washington. The selection of the latter was therefore rather an idea of a very few long-sighted leaders in the private councils, than prompted by any popular manifestation. It was the wish to enlist Virginia by putting the army under the direction of a person in whom that Colony had confidence.

And, after all, these private suggestions must have gone very little way in relieving the responsibility of those who were acting on behalf of Massachusetts at Philadelphia. They could not have weighed a feather in the scale, had the selection proved unfortunate. It is probable that the decision was made somewhere between the 7th and 14th of June. The only account of it that has come down to us is found in the Autobiography of John Adams. There is no need of recapitulating what has already appeared so lately before the public. The sum of it is, that, although the designation of the person to be selected for the chief command was unequivocally made by John Adams, it was yet done, incidentally, in the course of the debate on the question of the adoption of the army before Boston, and only led indirectly to the nomination, which was actually made by Thomas Johnson, of Maryland. Undoubtedly, the mistake in Mr. Bancroft's last volume, whereby it would seem as if one Thomas had been the person, is purely typographical. The surname has dropped out by accident; for there was no one named Thomas, in Congress, from Maryland. For Mr. Johnson's agency in this matter, it might be permitted to Mr. Adams to take a little pride; for he was the brother of his maternal grandfather: and his name is well deserving to be honored for his other public services, which nothing but his own want of ambition prevented from being continued in some of the highest posts under the Federal Institution, down to the beginning of the

present century. He was repeatedly called upon by Washington to serve in great trusts, but called in vain.

Such are the particulars which Mr. Adams had been able to gather touching the nomination to the chief command of the Revolutionary army.

Dr. ELLIS stated, that, when he was preparing an Address commemorative of the Battle, he had frequent conversations about it with Judge Prescott, and received from him much valuable information. In connection with his modest and unobtrusive way of referring to the manner in which his father's services had been overlooked, and made of seemingly secondary value, he noticed that the Judge had a very strong filial feeling in the case. He said, that, while the controversy and discussion were going on, in which Daniel Webster took part (about the year 1818), in his article in the "North American Review," he himself kept silence, resolved not to obtrude any thing in reference to the claims of his father; trusting that in due season the truth would appear. Judge Prescott also informed him, that Colonel Trumbull apologized to him for having represented his father in a slouched hat and a farmer's frock, swinging his musket as an ordinary soldier, or mere volunteer, in the picture of the battle; and proposed doing something to rectify the error.

Dr. Ellis added, that, on transmitting a copy of his Address, after its publication, to the Judge, he received from him a letter, the contents of which he regarded as of exceeding interest and importance. It is here printed:—

NAHANT, July 19, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—I heartily thank you for the copy of the excellent and eloquent oration which you had the goodness to send me. It is by far the most intelligible and correct account I have seen of that rather confused battle. I beg you to believe we are not unmindful of the very kind and flattering terms in which you have spoken of my father, not forgetting his descendants.

I have always thought, indeed known, that the accounts commonly given of that action were incorrect *at least*; and you may be assured it afforded me no little pleasure to find, that an orator, selected to commemorate the anniversary, in a town whose inhabitants were witnesses to the battle, was able, and had the independence, at this late day, upon a careful examination of the facts, to do justice to Colonel Prescott, in apportioning the honors of the battle-field among the heroes of the day. This oration, though but a pamphlet in form, will, I doubt not, lead the way to more correct views on the subject. The loss of the record of the appointment to the command, the great popularity of some names, and the efforts of friends, doubtless contributed to making and keeping alive the erroneous impressions that have more or less prevailed. No friend of Colonel Prescott ever wrote a line, or took an affidavit or declaration, on the subject, to my knowledge. General Dearborn's statement was wholly unknown to me till I saw it in print, and then I much regretted its appearance. It is a delicate and difficult task, as you observe, to distribute the honors of a battle among the leaders; and it is more especially so when the rank of officers is unsettled, orders are wanting, and the action somewhat confused: but the principle you have adopted, to leave it to be determined by the parts acted by the different competitors, one would think, could not be complained of. I am particularly pleased with your just remarks on the effects of this battle. They ought not to be overlooked or forgotten. The Americans lost

the field, it is true; but they won a great moral victory, which was felt in every battle to the end of the war. It made the brave Howe a cautious, if not a timid, commander.

I am, my dear sir, ever respectfully and very faithfully yours,

WM. PRESCOTT.

The Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS.

Mr. DEANE read extracts from the manuscript journal of a tour made to the camp at Cambridge, in October, 1775, by Dr. Belknap, who, at this time, resided at Dover, N.H. He stated that some passages from this journal—which is given below entire—had already appeared in the Memoir of Dr. Belknap, published in 1847.

Journal of my Tour to the Camp, and the Observations I made there.

Oct. 16. — I set out from home, and the next day arrived at Cambridge.

Oct. 17. — This evening, two floating batteries, accompanied with some boats, went down Cambridge River in order to throw some shot into Boston, to alarm the regular army, and fatigue them with extraordinary duty, and also to endeavor to take a floating battery from them which lay near Boston Neck. They got within three-quarters of a mile of the bottom of the Common, and the firing began between nine and ten o'clock. They fired about seventeen shot into the town; and then a nine-pounder in one of the batteries split: the cartridges took fire, and blew up the covering, or deck, on which several men were standing. Captain Blackley, of Marblehead, who commanded the battery, had the calf of his leg shot off, and was blown, with several others, into the water. A Portuguese sailor was so badly wounded in the thigh, that he bled to death before morning; another had his arm broken, and is very dangerous; four others were slightly wounded. The battery

was much shattered, and partly sunk. They towed her up the river by morning. This manœuvre is not generally approved by thinking people: it seemed to be rather a military frolic than a serious expedition. The camp appears to be a scene of wickedness. The oaths and execrations of the men that went on this frolic were horrid and dreadful.

Oct. 18. — In the afternoon, I rode to Milton.

Oct. 19. — It being foul weather, I was hindered from taking a view of the lines. Visited several friends, and rode to Roxbury. Lodged at Mr. Robert Pierpoint's, where General Ward resides. In conversation with Mr. Josh. Ward, aide-de-camp to the general, I found that the plan of *independence* was become a favorite point in the army, and that it was offensive to pray for the king; that the Continental Congress had prepared a *league offensive and defensive* between the several Colonies, which was to take place if the king should reject the Continental petition. (This agrees with Church's letter.) In this league, it is stipulated that each Colony shall have such a form of government as they shall choose; and that an annual Congress of the whole continent shall assemble by turns in each Colony, so that they may be the better acquainted with each other, and the people with them.

Oct. 20. — By desire of Mr. Mansfield, the chaplain, I prayed with General Thomas's regiment, quartered at Roxbury; and afterward visited the lines in company with an officer of the picket-guard. Nothing struck me with more horror than the present condition of Roxbury: that once busy, crowded street is now occupied only by a picket-guard. The houses are deserted, the windows taken out, and many shot-holes visible. Some have been burnt, and others pulled down to make room for the fortifications. A wall of earth is carried across the street at Roxbury Burying-place, and extends to Williams's old house, where there is a formidable fort mounted with cannon. The lower line is just below where the George Tavern stood. A row of trees, root and branch, lies across the

road there; and the breastwork extends to Lamb's Dam, which makes a part thereof. I went round the whole, and was so near the enemy as to see them (though it was foggy and rainy) relieve their sentries, which they do every hour. Their outmost sentries are posted at the chimneys of Brown's house.

After breakfast, came into General Ward's quarters several persons who had the preceding night made their escape from Boston; viz., Captain Mackay, Captain Conner, and Mr. Benjamin Hitchborn. Captain Mackay informed me that the regular troops in Boston were very thin in numbers and in flesh, and very much disheartened; that, about a month ago, the troops at Charlestown were ordered out to take Prospect Hill; which caused a great uneasiness, and would have produced a mutiny had the matter been insisted on. The dispute was so high among the officers, that they fired shot at one another; and a captain of marines cut his throat on the occasion. This affair they endeavored as much as possible to keep secret. General Gage sailed for England about a fortnight ago, and three addresses were presented to him on his departure,—one from the council, another from the Boston Tories, and the other from the refugee Tories. A copy of these was brought out by Captain Conner; and also a copy of a commission given to Mr. Crean Brush to receive at Faneuil Hall such goods as should be delivered to him by any of the inhabitants for security, to be redelivered to them when the affairs should be settled. He also informs that the Haymarket, and a number of houses, &c., adjoining, had been taken down to make room for a canal which was cutting from one side of the town to the other, and that a very high barricade was building there also.

Mr. Hitchborn's escape was very remarkable. He was taken in his passage from Rhode Island to Providence, being on a journey from Philadelphia, with the letters (page 25)* in

* Dr. Belknap here refers to the page of the manuscript volume in which he was writing, where are "Copies of Letters from John Adams, Esq., Member of the Continental Congress, intercepted by some of the King's Cutters, in Rhode-Island Bay, and published in Draper's Boston Paper, August, 1775."

his pocket; and had been confined on board the "Preston," the admiral's ship, ever since. His lodging was in the gun-room; and a sentry was appointed to guard him night and day, and every two hours in the night the officer of the watch looked into his cabin. He often took occasion to go upon deck, and as much about the ship as he could, at all hours of the day and night; and made many observations on their strength and vigilance, from whence he imagines it would be no very difficult matter to take them by a surprise. Being determined on an escape, he first tried to bribe the sentry, but found him proof against it; then he tried a stratagem to get a boat. A young man belonging to the ship used to go out in a canoe to catch fish for the officers, who generally took the best; and sometimes Hitchborn had the last chance. One day, he asked the young man to let him have the first picking, and desired him to bring his canoe under the port-hole which was near his berth; which he promised to do. He accordingly came on Wednesday afternoon: and Hitchborn invited him to drink tea with him; amusing him all the time with an account of an experiment he wanted to make, by letting down a tight-corked bottle into the water, which, at a certain depth, would be broken by the pressure of the water against it. The young man promised to join with him in making the experiment; but, it then growing dark, they agreed to postpone it till the morning, and to let the canoe remain at the said port. This point being gained, the next difficulty was to elude the sentry. Hitchborn went to his cabin, which had a piece of sennet, or network of ropes, before it, about breast-high; and at the end of the network was the door or passage into the cabin. Before this network the sentry walked, the space of six or eight feet, backward and forward. Hitchborn, having packed up his small bundle of clothes, feigned sleep, and lay with his head at the end of the network; observing the sentry till he found the fellow was deeply engaged in his walk, and had taken a fresh cud in his mouth. He then

gently slipped along, and got under a gun, where he lay a minute or two, till he found the sentry was not alarmed, but still kept on his walk. Then he got into the berth of an officer whom he knew to be ashore, and from thence descended through the port-hole into his canoe. It being dark and rainy, he got off undiscovered, and shaped his course, as near as he could judge by the wind, for Dorchester Neck; where in about two hours he arrived, and soon after found our guards.

He tells me there had been a great misunderstanding between General Gage and Admiral Graves, — the latter being a rough, boisterous man; that he was treated very cruelly while on shipboard, except by one or two; *that Governor Wentworth sailed for England about three weeks ago, soon after his return from the Isle of Shoals.* This was a mistake.*

Mr. Mansfield informed me that it has been discovered, by means of a captain of a man-of-war who was stationed at Nantasket, that General Gage's plan, in the spring, was to call an assembly to deliberate on Lord North's proposal, and, before they met, to destroy the magazine at Concord; the troops, on their return, to be reinforced, and to halt on Cambridge Common, where they were to encamp and fortify themselves, after destroying the colleges, meeting-house, and other buildings. This, it was imagined, would strike a terror into the country, and induce them to send their representatives with instructions to submit; and they were to be kept prisoners in Boston till they had made such a compliance as would be acceptable. How much of this plan is true, I cannot determine; but, happily, it has never taken place.

After dining with General Ward, I returned to Cambridge. In the evening, visited and conversed with General Putnam. Ward appears to be a calm, cool, thoughtful man; Putnam, a rough, fiery genius.

* The last sentence was written subsequently to the rest of the paragraph.

In conversation with Mr. Ward, of Roxbury, I learnt that the reason of our throwing up the intrenchments at Charlestown, on the night of the 16th June, was, that there had been intelligence received, such as could be depended on, that the regulars had determined to make a push for Cambridge after the arrival of their three generals (and reinforcements), who landed a few days before. That Dr. Warren was the last man in the trenches after they were forced; and died on the breastwork, with his sword in his hand. That his body was stripped naked, and buried so; his coat was sold in Boston by a soldier for eight dollars; his body was dug up several times, and buried again, to gratify the curiosity of those who came to see it. That divers persons were permitted to go from Boston over to Charlestown to view the field of battle.

By Capt. Mackay, I learnt that the shot fired into Boston from the floating-battery struck the tents on the Common, and killed one man; also the manufactory-house, which is an hospital, which occasioned the removing of the sick; also the Lamb Tavern and Martin Brimmer's house. That both the troops and inhabitants were thrown into great consternation, expecting our army were making an assault upon them.

Oct. 21. — Detained at Cambridge all day by the rain. Met General Sullivan; who told me he was ordered to Portsmouth on the report of the destruction of Falmouth, and that General Lee was ordered to Rhode Island to defend them. Dined, by invitation, with Mr. Mifflin, Quartermaster-general: the company present were Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch of Carolina, and Colonel Harrison of Virginia (a Committee from the Congress to settle a plan with the generals for a new army, to be kept up till December, 1776); General Lee, Adjutant-General Gates, Colonel Reed, and Mr. Baylor (Aids-de-Camp to General Washington); Lieutenant-Governor Griswold and Judge Wells of Connecticut, and Mr. Leonard, chaplain. General Lee is a perfect original, a good scholar and soldier, and an

odd genius; full of fire and passion, and but little good manners; a great sloven, wretchedly profane, and a great admirer of dogs, — of which he had two at dinner with him, one of them a native of Pomerania, which I should have taken for a bear had I seen him in the woods. A letter which he wrote General Putnam yesterday is a copy of his odd mind. It is, as nearly as I can recollect, as follows; being a letter of introduction of one Page, a Church clergyman: —

“HOBGOBLIN HALL, Oct. 19, 1775.

“DEAR GENERAL, — Mr. Page, the bearer of this, is a Mr. Page. He has the laudable ambition of seeing the great General Putnam. I therefore desire you would array yourself in all your majesty and terrors for his reception. Your blue and gold must be mounted, your pistols stuck in your girdle; and it would not be amiss if you should black one half of your face.

“I am, dear general, with fear and trembling, your humble servant,

“CHARLES LEE.”

This Page is suspected by some to be a spy, as he has a plan of the lines, and is bound to England. At table, the chief talk was about the best men for soldiers. General Lee said the Portuguese had the best materials for soldiers, if they were well disciplined; but that the Turks of Asia Minor were the stoutest men in the world. Adjutant-General Gates, who is an experienced officer, said he never desired to see better soldiers than the New-England men made. All joined in execrating the Irish. Many of the riflemen are of this nation, who are continually deserting to the enemy. *Lynch, Harrison, and Wells wished to see Boston in flames.* Lee told them it was impossible to burn it, unless they sent men in with bundles of straw at their backs to do it. He said it could not be done with carcasses and hot-shot; and instanced Isle Royal, in St. Lawrence River, which was fired at in 1760, a long time, with a fine train of artillery, hot-shot, and carcasses, without effect. General Washington was to have been at this dinner;

but the weather prevented. He is said to be a very amiable gentleman; cool, sensible, and placid, and a resolute soldier. I had no opportunity to see him.

Oct. 22. — Preached all day in the meeting-house. After meeting, I was again told by the chaplain that it was disagreeable to the generals to pray for the king. I answered, that the same authority which appointed the generals had ordered the king to be prayed for at the late Continental Fast; and, till that was revoked, I should think it my duty to do it.

Dr. Appleton prayed in the afternoon, and mentioned the king with much affection. It is too assuming in the generals to find fault with it.

Oct. 23. — Mr. Mifflin assured me there was no design to make an assault upon Boston very soon, and that it would not be done unless it was found that nothing else could be done. Flat-bottomed boats are preparing, which will carry sixty or seventy men at once. Barracks are also building for the army's winter quarters. The army is healthy, and well supplied. I visited the works at Prospect Hill. The weather being hazy, I had not so good a view as I could wish; but I could see the enemy's lines and buildings at Bunker Hill, and the desolation at Charlestown. Visited also the works at Ploughed Hill and Winter Hill, and set out on my return. At night, got to Haverhill, where the rains had caused a great flood in Merrimack River. Vast quantities of wood floated down, which was eagerly seized by the people along shore.

Oct. 24. — Got home, and found the town full of Portsmouth people, who have been moving with their effects ever since the destruction of Falmouth, apprehending the same fate.

Oct. 25. — Mr. Waters informed me, that the design of the regular troops, when they marched out of Boston the night of April 18, was discovered to Dr. Warren by a person kept in pay for that purpose. That they had a design upon the stores at Concord the week before, and dressed victuals for

their men; but, by the dressing an extraordinary quantity in the barracks, the design was discovered. They *then* marched out only as far as Watertown, as they had frequently done before in the day-time, for an airing, and returned before night. But, on the night of April 18, they took every imaginable precaution to prevent a discovery. Their meat was dressed on board a transport-ship in the harbor. Their men were not apprised of the design, till, just as it was time to march, they were waked up by the sergeants putting their hands on them, and whispering gently to them; and were even conducted by a back-way out of the barracks, without the knowledge of their comrades, and without the observation of the sentries. They walked through the street with the utmost silence. It being about ten o'clock, no sound was heard but of their feet: a dog, happening to bark, was instantly killed with a bayonet. They proceeded to the beach under the new powder-house,—the most unfrequented part of the town; and there embarked on board the boats, which had their oars muffled to prevent a noise, and landed on Phips's Farm, where they were met by the infamous Capt. Beeman, and conducted to Concord.

Notwithstanding all this seerecy, the following circumstances contributed to their discovery. Numbers of people were jealous, and kept a vigilant eye upon them. It was observed, that, two days before, general orders were given out that the light infantry and grenadiers should be excused from duty. The boats were observed to be launched from the transports. In the afternoon of April 18, an uncommon number of officers were seen walking up and down the Long Wharf; and a party of nine rode out of town with their blue surtouts, and passed through Cambridge just before night, riding very slowly; and, being followed by a person who suspected some bad design, they damned him, and told him not to keep so near them. Late in the evening, a light-infantry man was seen in a retail shop with his accoutrements on.

These circumstances being communicated to Dr. Warren, he applied to the person who had been retained, and got intelligence of their whole design; which was to seize Adams and Hancock, who were at Lexington, and burn the stores at Concord. Two expresses were immediately despatched thither, who passed by the guards on the Neck just before a sergeant arrived with orders to stop passengers. Another messenger went over Charlestown Ferry; so that the alarm was given several hours before the troops arrived at Lexington.

Mr. LIVERMORE exhibited, amongst several relics intimately associated with Washington and his times, two volumes — once owned by the family of Washington — containing the autographs of Washington's father and mother, together with that of their distinguished son at the early age of thirteen years. The same gentleman also offered for examination the Manuscript-journal and Letter-book of General Rainsford, the British Commissary for embarking the Hessians from Germany to America. It is a thick folio volume, bound in parchment; and was kindly supplied by Henry Stevens, a Corresponding Member of this Society.

Mr. EVERETT was called upon by the President to make some statement to the Society relative to the preparation and delivery of his discourse "On the Character of Washington." He observed, that, in pursuance of the request of the Chairman of the Standing Committee (Mr. Livermore), he had drawn up such a statement very hastily; that he hoped other gentlemen present would favor the Society with such remarks as the oc-

casion naturally prompted, relative to the day, to the interesting spot where we are assembled, and the associations connected with it; and if, at the close of the evening, there should still remain a little time for that purpose, he would then cheerfully submit the statement alluded to. This was done by Mr. Everett, at a later hour in the evening, substantially in the following terms:—

The first proposal for the purchase of Mount Vernon by private subscription, as far as I am aware, was made, four years ago, by Miss Ann Pamela Cunningham, a native of South Carolina, of a Virginia family on the mother's side; and to her zeal, perseverance, and energy is mainly to be ascribed whatever success has attended the movement. This most estimable lady, under the signature of "A Southern Matron," which she has retained till very lately, published, in the year 1853, an address to the women of the United States, calling upon them to engage in a general effort for the purchase of Mount Vernon. Somewhat later, and in consequence of this address, an association of ladies was formed in Virginia for the promotion of this object, with branches in several of the other States, principally at the South. The payment of a dollar was the condition of membership; and in this way a considerable fund was raised.

Such was the state of things, when, in the autumn of 1855, I was requested by the Chairman of the Lecture Committee of the Boston Mercantile-Library Association (Mr. Charles G. Chase) to deliver the introductory, or some other, lecture in their approaching course. But it was not in my power to comply with this request. It occurred to me, however, soon after, that the next winter would complete a century since the first of three visits made by Washington to Boston,—viz., in 1756, 1776, and 1789; and that this circumstance would furnish

an appropriate occasion for a commemorative discourse on the 22d of February; particularly if, on examination, it should turn out that Washington passed his birthday in the year 1756 at Boston; which, however, did not prove to be the case. The general subject grew upon me as I reflected upon it; and I determined at length to propose to the Lecture Committee of the Mercantile-Library Association, that they should celebrate the next anniversary of the birthday of Washington, offering to prepare for that occasion a discourse upon his character, the proceeds to be applied to some commemorative purpose. I intended, at this time, to treat the subject very much in its historical aspects, and in connection with the three visits to Boston already referred to. This offer was readily accepted, and the proposed celebration was announced in the Boston papers.

About this time, I received an invitation to deliver an address before some society in Richmond, Va.; I think, the Young Men's Christian Association. So numerous are the invitations received by me to deliver public addresses and lectures, that, to avoid the difficulty of making discriminations, I am obliged, generally speaking, to excuse myself altogether. I accordingly did so on this occasion; but having accidentally seen a short time before, in the "National Intelligencer," some notice of the organization and objects of the "Ladies' Mount-Vernon Association," I offered to repeat at Richmond, for the benefit of that institution, the discourse on the character of Washington, which I was under engagement to prepare for the Boston Mercantile-Library Association on the ensuing 22d of February. This offer was readily accepted; and this was the commencement of the repetition of my discourse for the benefit of the Mount-Vernon Fund.

In the course of the autumn of 1855, I received invitations to deliver addresses before a Young Men's Society at New Haven, the Mercantile-Library Association at New York, and the Maryland Institute at Baltimore. Having declined

previous invitations from these places, for the reason above given, I felt disposed to accept those extended to me this season, and to repeat the discourse on the character of Washington; that being a subject of equal interest throughout the Union. It is true, that, to fit it for repetition in the several places named, it would be necessary, in the treatment, wholly to abandon my original plan of dwelling in detail on Washington's three visits to Boston, and of deriving the main interest of the discourse from the successive developments and manifestations of his character in the events connected with those visits. Such a treatment of the subject would be likely to command the sympathy of a Boston audience, but would, in the same degree, have made the discourse less fitting for repetition elsewhere. I determined, therefore, after accepting the invitations to repeat the address at Richmond, New Haven, New York, and Baltimore, to give up the original conception, and, after a brief allusion to the three visits of Washington to this part of the country, to devote the rest of the discourse to an attempted delineation of his character.

The announcement in the newspapers of the several engagements just named attracted some attention in other places, and I began to receive invitations to repeat the address from various parts of the country. But the idea of an extensive repetition for the benefit of the Mount-Vernon Fund had not yet occurred to me; nor had I, when the discourse was delivered for the first time in the Music Hall in Boston, on the 22d of February, 1856, formed any positive engagement to repeat it, beyond those already mentioned. For the same reason, I made no stipulation relative to the appropriation of the proceeds of the address at New Haven, New York, and Baltimore; at all which places the audiences were large and the receipts considerable, but, for the reason stated, not appropriated to the Mount-Vernon Fund.

The Committee of the Mercantile-Library Association in Boston having asked my advice as to the manner in which

the proceeds of the original delivery of the discourse under their auspices should be expended, I recommended that a copy of Stuart's full-length portrait of Washington, in civilian's dress, should be procured for the hall of the association; which was done. The portrait painted by Stuart for the State House at Newport was admirably copied by the late lamented Mr. Hoyt. In addition to this, a copy by Howorth of the fine head of General Hamilton by Trumbull, now in the possession of Hon. R. C. Winthrop, was also procured for the hall of the association. These paintings, with their frames, cost between eight and nine hundred dollars.

The Mercantile-Library Association of New York appropriated the net proceeds of the discourse, which was delivered before an immense audience in the Academy of Music, to the purchase of books for their library. The proceeds at Baltimore passed into the treasury of that excellent institution: but its directors liberally gave me one hundred dollars for my expenses; which, however, I paid over to the Mount-Vernon Fund; having, on that occasion, formed the resolution to which I have since adhered,—to pay over to that fund every dollar which should come into my hands for the repetition of the address, without any deduction by way of compensation or for the re-imbursement of expenses.

I delivered the discourse for the fifth time at Richmond, Va., on the 19th of March, 1856. This, as I have stated, was its first repetition for the benefit of the Mount-Vernon Fund; and from that time to the present, with the exception of three instances of a particular character, the proceeds have been exclusively devoted to that object. Ex-President Tyler, Governor Wise, and the Mayor of the city, were on the platform at Richmond, and addressed the audience at the close of my discourse. On the 21st of March, I repeated the address at Petersburg, Va.; and on the 25th, at the University of Virginia, in the presence of the faculty and members of that institution. I had numerous invitations that spring to pro-

ceed further South ; but it was out of my power at that time to accept any of them. Returning homeward, I repeated the discourse at Washington, on the invitation and in the presence of the Secretary of State (Hon. W. L. Marcy) and other members of the Cabinet, and several of the most distinguished members of Congress. On the 1st of April, I delivered it for the second time in Baltimore ; on the 4th of April, before a very large audience, in the Musical-Fund Hall in Philadelphia, by invitation of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, — the Hon. Richard Rush, Joseph R. Ingersoll, G. M. Meredith, and other persons of distinction, being present. On the 7th of April, I spoke at Princeton, at the request of the faculty and students of New-Jersey College ; on the 8th, at Newark, N. J. ; and, on the 10th, at Brooklyn, N. Y., before a very crowded and enthusiastic assembly, in Plymouth Church ; returning to Boston the next day. I was absent on this tour seven weeks, and gave the address, including its first delivery, thirteen times, nine times being for the benefit of the Mount-Vernon Fund, and with an aggregate net receipt of fifty-five hundred and five dollars fifty-four cents. This sum includes the one hundred dollars paid to me for expenses by the Maryland Institute ; and twenty dollars paid me, on the same account, by the Ladies' Mount-Vernon Association of Virginia, at Richmond.

After my return home in the spring of 1856, and beginning on the 16th of April, at Providence, R. I., in the presence of President Wayland and the faculty and students of Brown University, I repeated my address at Charlestown, on the 30th of April ; at Springfield, on the 2d of May ; at Cambridgeport, on the 6th ; at Worcester, on the 13th ; at Salem, on the 16th ; at Hartford, on the 21st ; and at Taunton, on the 30th of May. The aggregate net receipt from these eight repetitions was two thousand four hundred and three dollars and nineteen cents.

Having somewhat over-exerted myself this spring, after two

years' intermission of public speaking, and taken a severe cold at Taunton, which affected my throat, I was obliged, for the present, to postpone other engagements. I did not again repeat my address till the 22d of February, 1857; when, on the invitation of the Mercantile-Library Association, I gave it for the second time in Boston, in the Music Hall, before a very large and distinguished audience. On the 17th and 19th of March, I repeated it at Albany, in the presence of President Fillmore, the Rev. President Nott, and Governor King, who presided on both occasions, and many members of the Legislature of New York. The net proceeds of these three repetitions were two thousand six hundred and seventy-five dollars and fifty-eight cents.

In the third week of April, 1857, I went to St. Louis to deliver an address, on occasion of the inauguration of Washington University of the State of Missouri. On this occasion, I repeated my "Washington," on the 20th of April, by invitation of the Mercantile-Library Association, and on the 25th by invitation of a committee of the citizens, of St. Louis, and in the presence of very large and respectable audiences. I then made a hasty circuit through the North-western States, delivering my address at Chicago, on the 28th and 29th; at Detroit, on the 1st of May, on which occasion the Governor of that State, and Chancellor Tappan of the University, were present; at Indianapolis, on the 4th, in the presence of the Governor, and Ex-Governor Wright; at Cincinnati, on the 7th and 9th of May, in the presence of Governor Chase, Mr. Justice McLean, Mr. Senator Pugh, and many other eminent persons; at Louisville, on the 12th and 13th of May, in the presence, among others, of Mr. Secretary Guthrie, Hon. Humphrey Marshall, and Hon. Wm. Preston; at Lexington, on the 14th, in presence of Vice-President Breckenridge, Judge Robertson, and other persons of eminence; at Maysville, on the 15th (making four times, in four successive days, in parts of the State lying at some distance from each other); at Buffalo, on

the 20th, in presence of Judge Hall of the United-States District Court, Hon. A. Tracy, and other distinguished persons; at Utica, on the 21st, in presence of Ex-Governor Seymour and other prominent individuals; and at Troy, on the 22d, in presence of Major-General Wool and other persons of distinction. In this tour of four weeks, I gave the address fifteen times. I spoke, however, once at Chicago, and once at Cincinnati, under former engagements to address the Mercantile-Library Associations of those places, and not, consequently, for the benefit of the Mount-Vernon Fund. The aggregate net receipt of thirteen repetitions on this tour, for the benefit of the fund, was six thousand three hundred and ninety dollars eleven cents.

In the summer and early autumn of 1857, beginning on the 18th of June at Cambridge, I spoke, on the 23d, at Dartmouth College, in presence of the faculty and students of that institution; on the 29th, at Roxbury, Mass.; on the 1st of July, at Amherst, in the presence of the faculty and students of the college at that place; at Northampton, on the 2d of July, in the presence of Mr. Justice Dewey, Hon. Erastus Hopkins, Rev. President Allen, and other eminent persons; on the 20th of July, at Newburyport; on the 27th, at Andover, in the presence of many of the professors and members of the Theological Seminary and Academy in that place; on the 29th, at Lawrence; on the 6th of August, at Brunswick, before the faculty and students of Bowdoin College; on the 7th, at Portland, in the presence, among other gentlemen of note, of Judge Shepley, Hon. C. S. Davies, &c.; on the 10th, at Bangor, in presence of his Honor the Mayor, Governor Kent, &c.; on the 17th and 24th, at Newport, in presence of President Van Buren, Bishop Clark, Hon. Wm. B. Lawrence, Dr. King, &c.; on the 2d of September, at Medford; on the 15th, at Fall River; on the 18th, at Nashua, N.H.; on the 28th, at West Cambridge, Mass.; on the 29th, at Woburn; and on the 30th, at Charlemont, N.H., in presence of Governor Metcalf

and other prominent persons. Having engaged to deliver an address at Amherst College in the usual way, and being unable to keep the appointment, the repetition of the "Washington" at that place was gratuitous. The aggregate net receipt of eighteen repetitions on this summer tour was four thousand two hundred and sixteen dollars and eighty-two cents.

Having occasion to go to Buffalo, in the first week of October, to deliver an address before the New-York-State Agricultural Society, I availed myself of this opportunity to fulfil some engagements to repeat my address in the West. I gave it at Fredonia, in Chautauque County, N.Y., on the 8th of October; at Ann Arbor, before the faculty and students of the University of Michigan, on the 12th; at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 13th; and at Erie, Penn., on the 14th. Returned home, I gave my address at Lowell, Mass., on the 22d of October; at Concord, N.H., on the 23d; at Gloucester, Mass., on the 26th; at Hingham, on the 28th; at Norwich, Conn., on the 11th of November, in the presence of Governor Buckingham and other distinguished gentlemen; at Fitchburg, Mass., on the 2d of December; and at New Bedford, on the 29th, when I was introduced to the audience by Governor Clifford. The aggregate net proceeds for October, November, and December (eleven repetitions), were eighteen hundred and ninety-six dollars and sixty-eight cents.

On the 11th of January of the present year (1858), I repeated the address at Portsmouth, N.H. Rev. Dr. Peabody, Editor of the "North-American Review," G. W. Haven, Esq., and Rev. Dr. Burroughs, &c., were of the audience. On the following day, I spoke at Augusta, Me., in presence of the Governor, and many members of the Legislature, of Ex-Governor Bradbury, R. H. Gardiner, Esq., and other persons of eminence. On the 21st of January, by the invitation of a large number of the most distinguished citizens of New York, I gave the address for the second time in that city. It was delivered, as on the former occasion, in the Academy of Music.

The officers of the Mercantile-Library Association kindly took charge of the arrangements. The audience, both for numbers and respectability, was of the most distinguished character. On the 23d, I returned to Boston.

On the 4th of February, on the invitation of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, I gave my address for the second time in Philadelphia. It was delivered before a magnificent audience, in the Academy of Music; Hon. H. D. Gilpin, a Vice-President of the Society, presiding. Bishop Potter, Judge Kane, and many other persons of distinction, were present. At the particular request of several persons of influence, I again repeated the address in the Academy of Music, for the third time in Philadelphia, on the 16th; the Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania presiding. On the 22d of February, I went to Richmond, by invitation of the commissioners for erecting Crawford's noble equestrian statue of Washington, to witness the interesting ceremonies of that occasion. On the following day, General Washington's cane was presented to me, and his spyglass to Mr. Yancey of Alabama, on behalf of the Ladies' Mount-Vernon Association, in acknowledgment of our services in aid of the Mount-Vernon Fund. The presentation took place in the theatre at Richmond, in presence of Governor Wise; of the Governors of Connecticut, New Jersey, and Michigan; of Lieutenant-General Scott; of Major-General Persifer Smith; of Mr. Senator Mason; of Miss Cunningham, the Regent, and several of the other officers of the Ladies' Mount-Vernon Association; and of a most distinguished and appreciative audience. After the ceremonial of presentation, I repeated the discourse on the character of Washington; and again, at the African Church, at Richmond, on the 26th, William H. Macfarland, Esq., introducing me to the audience. Returning northward from Richmond, I repeated the address at Wilmington, Del., on the 8th of March, in the presence of the Mayor, Bishop Lee, and other distinguished gentlemen; I. R. Latimer presiding. On the 10th, I spoke at

Trenton, by invitation of the two houses of the Legislature of that State, in the presence of the Governor, many members of the Legislature, Judge Dayton, and other prominent citizens; and was honored on the following day by a public reception by the two houses of the Legislature and the Court of Appeals of New Jersey. On the 12th of March, in pursuance of an invitation signed by Governor Packer and every member of his administration, and by every member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, I repeated the address at Harrisburg. The venerable Judge Wilkins, an active member of the Senate, was among the distinguished persons present. Again directing my course southward, I delivered my address at Alexandria, Va., on the 18th,—W. H. Fowle, Esq., of that city, presiding; and, on the day following, at Fredericksburg, in presence of Judge Lomax, Mr. Douglas Gordon, I. Horace Lacy, Esq., Colonel Tayloe, Dr. Philip Stuart, and a highly intelligent audience. These repetitions did not take place in a continuous absence from home. I had returned to Boston twice since leaving it for New York on the 20th of January. The aggregate receipt of twelve repetitions was seven thousand six hundred and ninety-three dollars fifty-four cents.

I was on my way to the South to make an extensive tour in that part of the Union, when letters from home made it my duty to return from Richmond to Boston. After remaining at home a short time, I found that I could again be absent without very great inconvenience; and I accordingly went to New York, and took passage to Charleston on the 3d of April, arriving off the Bar on the afternoon of the 5th. Some misapprehension of the days on which I was to speak at Savannah and Augusta made it necessary that I should immediately proceed to the former place, where I spoke in the theatre, on the 7th of April; Bishop Elliot introducing me to the audience. On the 9th, I spoke at Augusta, in the presence of his Honor the Mayor, Hon. Mr. Jenkins, Colonel Berrien, and other

persons of note. On the following day, I returned to Charleston, where I gave my discourse in the Hall of the Southern Institute, before a magnificent audience; Governor Ailston, Chancellor Dunkin, Hon. Charles Macbeth, Mayor of the city, and many other persons of eminence, especially the leading gentlemen connected with the press, occupying places on the platform. Hon. James L. Petigru introduced me to the audience. On the 16th, I gave my address at Columbia; Hon. W. F. Dessausure presiding. The audience was of the most distinguished character. The faculty of the College were present; but the institution itself was not in session. Hon. W. C. Preston, Rev. Dr. Thornwell, Dr. R. W. Gibbes, and Colonel Cunningham, were among the eminent persons present. The net proceeds of four repetitions of my address in South Carolina and Georgia were four thousand one hundred and eighty-six dollars twenty-eight cents.

I was the next week to have spoken four times in Western Georgia; and then to have proceeded, by the way of Montgomery and Mobile, to New Orleans. I received, however, on the eve of my intended departure to keep these appointments, letters from Washington informing me that the health of my son-in-law, Lieutenant Wise, of the United-States Navy, was such as to require a voyage to Europe. I felt it my duty to return immediately to Washington to take leave of my daughter and her husband before their departure. Having accomplished this, I returned to Virginia to fulfil a few engagements in that State, which I had been obliged to postpone on my unexpected return to Boston in March. I arrived at Lynchburg on the 3d of May, in pursuance of a long-standing invitation from the citizens of that place. I was received by Judge Wilson on behalf of the citizens, and by a military escort composed of the Cadets of the College. On the 4th, my address was delivered in Dudley Hall to a fine audience; John M. Speed, Esq., presiding. On the following day, I went to Lexington; where, on the

6th inst., I repeated the address before the officers and members of Washington College, of the Virginia Military Institute, and a favoring audience. I devoted the following day to an excursion to the Natural Bridge; the only time I have taken for a purpose of personal recreation while moving from place to place to repeat my address. On the 10th of May, I gave it for the second time at the University of Virginia, in the presence of the faculty and students of that seminary, and a crowded audience from Charlottesville and the neighboring country. On the 14th, I repeated the address at Norfolk, in the presence of the Mayor of the city, Hon. George Loyall, Professor Tucker, Tazewell Taylor, Esq., and a very large audience. The aggregate receipts of these four repetitions were two thousand sixty-four dollars twenty-five cents.

The sum total of the net receipts of eighty-two repetitions for the benefit of the fund is a trifle over thirty-seven thousand dollars. I have also received, as already stated, one hundred and twenty dollars, kindly paid me by the Directors of the Maryland Institute, and of the Ladies' Mount-Vernon Association for the State of Virginia, on account of expenses; the sum of eighty-one dollars thirty-eight cents, paid to me by Edward Wilcox, Esq., on behalf of the Ladies' Mount-Vernon Association of Philadelphia; one hundred dollars, as a donation, from Henry Farnum, Esq., of Chicago; and fifty dollars, as a donation, from John Tisdale Bradlee, Esq., of Boston.*

The foregoing statement was, as has already been intimated, made to the Historical Society, at the request of the Chairman of the Standing Committee, at the meeting held on the 17th of June, 1858. The publication having been delayed, it may not be improper to continue the narrative to the present time.

* Mr. Bradlee, in November, 1858, doubled this sum.

Finding myself somewhat exhausted by the exertions of the winter and spring, I spoke but once during the summer of 1858; viz., at Framingham, on the 6th of July, 1858. In the latter part of the month of September, I visited the western portion of New York, and spoke at Watertown, Binghamton, and Rome; at the first two to large audiences, particularly at Binghamton, where many persons had assembled to attend the inauguration of the Asylum for Inebriates. I was introduced to the audience by Hon. D. S. Dickinson. The proceeds of the three evenings were seven hundred and seventy-one dollars and seventy cents.

On the 20th of October, I gave the address at Waltham, Mass., in presence of Governor Banks and other distinguished citizens; on the 22d, at East Bridgewater, Mass.; on the 25th, at Bridgewater; on the 27th, at Burlington, Vt., where I was introduced by President Wheeler; and at Montpelier, the following day, in the presence of Governor Hall, and the Legislature of the State, by whose invitation, conveyed in a joint resolution of the two houses, the address was repeated. On the 2d of November, I spoke at North Bridgewater; and, on the 4th, at Haverhill, Mass., when I was presented to the audience by Hon. James H. Duncan. The proceeds of these seven evenings were one thousand eighty-three dollars ten cents.

On the 12th of November, I repeated the address for the third time in New York, in Niblo's Theatre, before a crowded audience, at the invitation of the Vice-Regent and Managers of the Ladies' Mount-Vernon Association for the State of New York. The net proceeds were nine hundred and ninety-two dollars and eighty-eight cents.

On the 18th of November, I gave the discourse at Abingdon, and on the 26th at Weymouth, Mass.; and the joint proceeds were three hundred and thirty-four dollars and seventy cents.

On the 14th of December, I spoke at Canandaigua, in West-

ern New York, when I was introduced to a numerous audience by Hon. Francis Granger; at Rochester, on the 15th, in presence of President Anderson, General King, and other eminent persons, and to a full house; and at Auburn, on the invitation of Rev. Dr. Cressy, Governor Seward, and other prominent citizens, on the 17th, also to a large audience. The proceeds of these three evenings were nine hundred and sixty-two dollars sixty-three cents.

On the 22d of December, I had the pleasure, by invitation of the citizens of Plymouth, of delivering my address on that ever-memorable anniversary. I was introduced to a sympathizing audience by C. G. Davis, Esq. On the 24th, I spoke to a crowded house at Barnstable, at the invitation of a committee, of which Major Phinney was the chairman. On the 19th of January, 1859, I spoke at Brookline, Mass.; when I was presented to the company, and to a crowded house, by Hon. A. A. Lawrence. The proceeds of these three evenings were five hundred and thirty-two dollars and forty-four cents. Fifty dollars were added to the fund, the following day, by G. B. Blake, Esq., a citizen of Brookline.

Having occasion to go to Philadelphia, to repeat, in that city, a discourse delivered on the 17th, in Boston, on the "Early Days of Franklin," I gave my "Washington" by the way, at Middletown, Conn., on the 24th of January, and at New Britain on the 25th; in both places, to full houses. The "Franklin" was delivered in the Academy of Music, on the 27th, at Philadelphia; and, the following week, I repeated the "Washington" on five consecutive nights, in New Jersey, by invitation of the Vice-Regent of the Ladies' Mount-Vernon Association of that State, and of respectable committees in the several places where it was repeated: viz., at New Brunswick, on the 31st of January; at Elizabeth, on the 1st of February; at Newark, on the 2d; at Plainfield, on the 3d; at Jersey City, on the 4th. At all these places, I was honored with large audiences. On the 7th of February, I spoke to an

immense house, in Brooklyn, N.Y., in the Plymouth Church, by invitation of the Mercantile-Library Association of that city. The aggregate proceeds of these eight nights were twenty-eight hundred and eleven dollars and eighty-seven cents.

On the 4th March, being the anniversary of the day on which the Constitution of the United States became the supreme law of the land, I repeated my address for the fourth time in the city of New York, on the invitation of a large number of the most distinguished citizens, headed by his Honor Mayor Tieman. Much interest was given to the occasion by the attendance of the seventy-first regiment of New-York militia, under the command of Colonel Vosburg. I was introduced to the vast assembly by Hon. Luther Bradish, President of the Historical Society of New York. The net proceeds were thirteen hundred and ninety-nine dollars and four cents. On the 11th of March, I delivered my discourse to a fine audience in East Brooklyn; receipts, four hundred and forty-two dollars fifty cents.

On the 21st of March, I spoke at Hopkinton, Mass.; on the 25th, at Middleborough; on the 29th, at Newton,—to audiences large in proportion to the population of those places. The proceeds of the three evenings were four hundred and twenty-two dollars and seventy-five cents.

Early in April, I made a journey to the South; being under engagement to repeat my "Franklin" and "Washington" in several places, principally in Virginia and North Carolina. I gave the "Washington" at Wilmington, N.C., on the 11th of April, before an immense audience (to which I was presented by George Davis, Esq.) from that city and the neighboring country; at Newbern, on the 12th, to a very full house, to which I was presented by Judge Damell; at Raleigh, on the 14th, in presence of Governor Ellis, Senator Bragg, Judge Badger, George E. Mordecai, and other distinguished persons, and a very large assembly, in the Commons Hall of the Capi-

tol; at Chapel Hall, on the 14th, before the faculty and students of the University of North Carolina, and a very large audience, to which I was introduced by Governor Swain, the distinguished head of the university. On the 25th inst., I gave the address at Staunton, in Virginia, before a crowded audience, to which I was introduced by Hon. A. H. H. Stuart, in the large Hall of the Asylum for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind. The net proceeds of these five evenings were thirty-three hundred and forty-three dollars and forty-four cents; the proceeds at Wilmington alone being one thousand and ninety-one dollars and eighty cents,—the population of that city not exceeding, I believe, ten or twelve thousand.

On the 12th of May, I repeated the address in the Academy of Music at Philadelphia, for the fourth time in that city, at the earnest request of the Vice-Regent of the Association for the State of Pennsylvania. I was introduced to the audience by Professor Coppee, of the University of Pennsylvania.

On my return from my first excursion in 1856, having then several thousand dollars in hand (there being no immediate prospect of effecting the purchase of the Mount-Vernon Estate), I invested them to advantage, with the assistance of my much-esteemed business friend, the late Mr. John E. Thayer. As the amount was rapidly increasing, I was unwilling to retain it exclusively under my own control; and I accordingly conveyed the funds, by a formal deed of trust, to a Board of Trustees, consisting, besides myself, of Hon. George S. Hillard, and Messrs. John E. Thayer, Sidney Brooks, and Francis H. Peabody, Treasurer. On the decease of Mr. John E. Thayer, his brother, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer, the surviving partner of the banking-house, was chosen trustee in his place. Mr. Peabody has acted as Treasurer of the Board. The sums accruing from the repetition of my address, after the organization of the trust, and before the contract for the purchase of Mount Vernon was concluded, were invested by the trus-

tees. Since the purchase was made in March, 1858, the trustees have converted the invested funds advantageously into cash, and paid over the proceeds to George W. Riggs, Esq., of Washington, the General Treasurer of the Association. The sum so paid over at different times, amounts, in the aggregate, to fifty-three thousand three hundred and ninety-three dollars eighty-one cents. This sum includes interest on investments, and premium on stock sold. The proceeds of my last tour, amounting to thirty-three hundred and forty-three dollars and forty-four cents, remain in the hands of the trustees, uninvested, but bearing interest, and ready to be paid over.

In the course of the last autumn, I entered into an engagement with the editor and proprietor of the "New-York Ledger," Robert Bonner, Esq., to furnish an article weekly for that paper for one year, in consideration of the sum of ten thousand dollars to be paid in advance to the Mount-Vernon Fund. No stipulation was made as to the subjects or the length of the articles. They have averaged from two and a half to three columns in length. The sum of ten thousand dollars was advanced by Mr. Bonner on receiving my letter of acceptance, and by me forthwith paid over to the Treasurer of the Fund.

In the first of these articles, which were designated the "Mount-Vernon Papers," I invited the readers of the "Ledger" to transmit each the sum of fifty cents or more toward the augmentation of the Mount-Vernon Fund. A considerable number of persons, readers of the "Ledger," have responded to this call; and other persons and individuals, fire-companies, Masonic and Odd Fellows' lodges, and companies of ladies and gentlemen uniting for the purpose, have transmitted larger or smaller donations. They have received in return a handsome engraved receipt, containing vignettes of the river and garden fronts of Mount Vernon, and signed by the Chairman and Treasurer of the Trust. The net amount received

from this source is \$2,929.94, and is included in the sum of \$53,393.81, mentioned above, as having been paid over to the General Treasurer. The total amount received by me from all sources is \$68,163.56; of which the sum of \$4,769.75 is at present in the hands of the trustees, payable at sight to the order of the General Treasurer.

I have greatly to regret that it has not yet been in my power to visit the Southern Western States of the Union; from all of which (with the exception of Arkansas), as well as from Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, which I have also been unable to visit, I have been honored with invitations. Domestic circumstances of a painful nature have obliged me twice to turn back, when on the way to fulfil engagements in those parts of the Union, of whose interest in the cause I have received many intimations. I still promise myself the pleasure of visiting them at no distant period.

In order to give a correct idea of the circumstances under which my "Washington" has been delivered, it may not be improper to state, that simultaneously with its repetition, commencing on the 22d of December, 1857, I delivered an "Address on Charity and Charitable Institutions," for the benefit of the Boston Provident Institution; which has since been repeated in different parts of the country fifteen times, with an aggregate net receipt, for the benefit of various charitable institutions, of about \$13,500. On the 17th of January of the present year, I delivered an address on the "Early Days of Franklin," at the invitation of the Association of the Franklin Medalists of the city of Boston; which has since been repeated at New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, and the University of Virginia, yielding in the aggregate about four thousand dollars for the benefit of various charitable and public institutions. On the 7th of December, 1858, I pronounced a Eulogy on Mr. Thomas Dowse, before the Dowse Institute at Cambridgeport; which was repeated on the 9th before the Massachusetts Historical Society; yielding to the

two institutions about \$1,500. The aggregate of sums realized in the various ways above mentioned, and paid over to the Mount-Vernon Fund and sundry public and charitable institutions, is about \$87,000. If to this be added the proceeds of seven repetitions of the "Washington" not included in the above returns, four of which were to very large audiences, the sum total will not fall short of ninety thousand dollars.

Having observed above, that no deduction from the sums which have come into my hands for the repetition of my "Washington" has ever been made in payment of my own expenses, I ought to add, that those expenses have been much reduced by the hospitality with which I have uniformly been received and treated, and by the liberality of the presidents or superintendents of railroads, and the proprietors or commanders of steamboats. I have seldom lodged at a public house in any part of the country while travelling to repeat my address; and I have, in most cases, been favored with free tickets in the railroad-cars and steamers.

In the foregoing statement, hastily prepared at the request of Mr. Livermore, on behalf of the Standing Committee, and of the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, the President of the Society, I have briefly set down, in the most matter-of-fact style, the principal *data* relative to the preparation and delivery of the "Address on the Character of Washington." It has required the constant recurrence of the first person, which I regret, but which, from the nature of the case, could not be avoided. I have occasionally mentioned the names of persons of note introducing me to the audience, or otherwise present. They have generally been persons who fill, or have filled, public station, or who are otherwise conspicuous for age or position in the community. I have done this, partly to relieve the dryness of a bare list of times and places, and still more because these names will illustrate the fact, to me personally of a most agreeable nature, — and, I venture also to hope, of some public interest, — that the praises of Washington have

been listened to with equal favor, by persons of all parties, in every section of the Union. Even in cases where a few expressions may have failed to command unanimous assent, a generous measure of approbation has been accorded to the spirit in which my discourse is conceived and executed. I ought also to add, with reference to the names of the individuals which have been introduced in the manner alluded to, that it has been done in most cases from recollection, and without the aid of a contemporary memorandum; that such an enumeration must of necessity be limited; and that names equally conspicuous and distinguished with those given, have no doubt, in many cases, been omitted. Had circumstances enabled it to be done by a person who could without indelicacy do it, a full report of the incidents connected with the repetition of this address, in different parts of the Union, would be a document of a somewhat peculiar character, and not without value, as illustrating the state of public sentiment in different parts of the country. For the favor with which it has been so extensively received, I would express in this way my heartfelt gratitude.

Boston, May 19, 1859.

The following note from Mr. Prescott was read by the President: —

BEACON STREET, June 15, 1858.

MY DEAR WINTHROP, — It is as I feared. I find engagements have been made for transferring our household gods to Lynn on the 17th, and that I must forego the pleasure of being present at the festival of the Historical Society. It cannot fail to be a most agreeable one, considering the character of the company, and the stirring associations connected with both the time and the place chosen for the celebration.

I trust that the clouds will have wept themselves away by Thursday, and will let the sun, so long a stranger, brighten your holiday. — Believe me ever faithfully yours,

WM. H. PRESCOTT.

JULY MEETING.

The Society held their stated monthly meeting on Thursday, July 8, at noon, at their rooms in Tremont Street, Boston; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the American Antiquarian Society; the Wisconsin Historical Society; the City of Boston; Rev. Caleb D. Bradlee; William H. Dennett, Esq.; Samuel A. Green, M.D.; L. A. Huguet Latour, Esq.; James Lenox, Esq.; and from Messrs. Nathan Appleton, Livermore, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary reported letters of acceptance from Hon. Richard Rush, as an Honorary Member, from Hon. George P. Marsh, Dr. Francis Lieber, and Richard Hildreth, Esq., as Corresponding Members, and from Hon. William Sturgis, and Leverett Saltonstall, Esq., as Resident Members, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary communicated the following letter from Rev. Charles Lowell, D.D., presenting to the Society a leaden inkstand cast by his distinguished predecessor, Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., in 1738.

ELMWOOD, June 24, 1858.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — If I had been aware of the meeting of the Historical Society at Cambridge, I should certainly have done myself the pleasure of attending, and have brought with me a leaden article, — not a bullet from Bunker Hill, but an inkstand run by my distinguished prede-

cessor, who did not a little to contribute, by the ink he used, to the transactions of the eventful 17th of June. As it is, I propose to send this article, which was given me on Martha's Vineyard, the birthplace of Mayhew, and was made by him in 1738, when he was only eighteen years old. When shall I send, that you may present it at your next meeting from one who has been a member of the Society for nearly half a century, and successively its Recording and Corresponding Secretary for more than thirty years?

Very affectionately your friend,

CHARLES LOWELL.

JOSEPH WILLARD, Esq.

HON. WILLIAM APPLETON and REV. ALONZO H. QUINT were unanimously elected Resident Members.

The President read a letter from the Corporation of Harvard College, requesting permission to copy, for the use of the college, the portrait of Governor Gore in the possession of the Society.

On motion of Mr. LIVERMORE, it was *Voted*, That in the present instance, and also in all similar cases of application to copy original portraits belonging to the Society, the Standing Committee be authorized to grant leave, under such conditions as they may deem necessary or expedient.

The President called the attention of the Society to two paintings — one a portrait of Lafayette, the other of Cortez — which had recently been cleaned and restored by Mr. Howorth in a manner highly creditable to him, and without expense to the Society. Whereupon it was, at the suggestion of the President, unanimously *Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Howorth for the valuable service he has

gratuitously rendered in cleaning and retouching the portraits of Lafayette and Cortez.

The President submitted printed documents (circulars) from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, proposing a union of the leading Historical and Antiquarian Societies of the country to memorialize Congress for a grant of lands for the benefit of the United States. Referred to the Standing Committee.

Mr. WARREN submitted the following Report:—

The Committee to whom were referred the manuscript memoirs of the late Rev. Dr. Pierce, report, that a large part of the volumes have been examined by a portion of the Committee, and are found to be marked by the well-known characteristics of Dr. Pierce,—diligence and accuracy, kindness, and great catholicity of feeling. These manuscripts are of great value as a repository of facts and dates, as embracing a valuable current ecclesiastical and theological history of the time during which Dr. Pierce was in the ministry, and as containing interesting and discriminating portraiture of the characters of very many distinguished clergymen and laymen.

The Committee find no reason why the volumes should not be open to the inspection of the members of the Society.

The Committee ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

C. H. WARREN, *per order*.

The Report was accepted, and the volumes are open to the inspection of the Society; it being understood that the prohibition in regard to extracts, made by Dr. Pierce, and already established by the Society, does not extend to a name, a date, or a fact,—either of which may be copied.

Mr. DEANE stated that he had recently noticed among the papers of Dr. Belknap a document relating to the formation of the Society, which might be interesting to the members. It was a memorandum in the handwriting of Dr. Belknap, which furnishes additional evidence of his agency in the projection and establishment of this Society. From a record in the beginning of the first Letter-book of the Society, it is known that five persons met some time in the year 1790, and agreed to form an Historical Society; and it has been said that each agreed to bring one person to the next meeting, for the purpose of organization. The record alluded to gives the names of the five persons who "first associated in 1790," and also of those "elected by them, each nominating one." The first meeting at which the Society was instituted was held Jan. 24, 1791, at the house of Mr. Tudor. The Records say that the persons present agreed to consider this the first meeting, and proceeded to organize. It appears that but eight of the ten who had agreed to associate were present at this meeting; but Messrs. Baylies and Minot, who were absent, were considered as present or associating, — the latter being elected a member of the Standing Committee.

Mr. Deane then exhibited and read the paper to which he had alluded. It is a rough draught of a constitution, with erasures and interlineations, drawn up prior to the informal meeting of the first five in 1790; and is probably the earliest document extant relative to the formation of the Society. This paper is labelled, "Plan for an Antiquarian Society, August, 1790." Having been read by Mr. Deane, it was ordered that it should

be copied into the Records of the Society. It is as follows: —

A Society to be formed; consisting of not more *than seven at first*, for the purpose of collecting, preserving, and communicating the antiquities of America.

Admissions to be made in such manner as the associated shall judge proper; the number of members to be limited.

A President, Recording and Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian, and Cabinet-keeper, to be appointed.

Each member to pay — at his admission, and — yearly. This and other money to be applied to promoting the objects of the Society.

Each member, on his admission, shall engage to use his utmost endeavors to collect and communicate to the Society, manuscripts, printed books and pamphlets, historical facts, biographical anecdotes, observations in natural history, specimens of natural and artificial curiosities, and any other matters which may elucidate the natural and political history of America from the earliest times to the present day; and —

All communications which are thought worthy of being preserved shall be entered at large in the books of the Society, with an index, and the originals kept on file.

Letters shall be written to gentlemen in each of the United States, requesting them to form similar Societies; and a correspondence shall be kept up between them, for the purpose of communicating discoveries and improvements to each other.*

Each Society through the United States shall be desired, from time to time, to publish such of their communications as they may judge proper; and all publications shall be made on paper and in pages of the same size, that they may be bound together; and each Society so publishing shall be

* The word "improvements" is erased.

desired to send gratuitously to each of the other Societies one dozen copies, at least, of each publication.

Quarterly meetings to be held for the purpose of communicating; and, in this State, the quarterly meetings shall be held on the days next following those appointed for the meetings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

When the Society's funds can afford it, salaries shall be granted to the Secretaries and other officers.

Persons to compose the first meeting: William Tudor, Esq., Rev. John Eliot, Rev. Peter Thacher, James Winthrop, Esq., Jere. Belknap.*

Mr. BROOKS offered some remarks on the origin of the name of the town of Medford, tracing it through the Cradock Family — the original owners of the plantation on the Mystic River — to the manor of Metford, in Staffordshire, England, also owned by the same family. The change from Metford to Medford, Mr. Brooks said, could not be explained. The name was written in different ways in the town-records, but, since 1715, was invariably spelt as at the present time.

Mr. WASHBURN presented to the Society, for its cabinet, a six-dollar note of the old Continental money, dated 1775.

AUGUST MEETING.

The stated meeting of the Society, for August, was held this day (Aug. 11), in the cottage of Mr. Tudor, at Nahant. The meeting was called to order by the President at eleven and a half o'clock, A.M.

* The name of "Hon. S. Adams, Esq.," is the first on the list, but is erased.

Hon. THOMAS G. CARY, and S. F. HAVEN, Esq., were unanimously elected Resident Members.

After the usual order of business had been gone through with, the President said he felt sure that no apology need be offered in behalf of the officers of the Society for calling this meeting a day in advance of the stated time, after appointing it in this unaccustomed place.

It was not, indeed, altogether new in our history for the Society to make an excursion to some of the neighboring shores or islands. Our journals contained the record of at least one such excursion, a great many years ago, when the scene of Bartholomew Gosnold's brief abode on one of the little islands on the other side of the Cape was carefully explored, under the lead of the late excellent Judge Davis. And, earlier still in the history of the Society, a formal meeting, he believed, was once held on Governor's Island, in Boston Harbor, with a view to examine the site and surroundings of one of the summer residences of Governor Winthrop in 1630. In later days, the enterprise of the members had been limited to an occasional visit to Cambridge.

To one of these visits — namely, that to the residence of our valued associate, Mr. George Livermore — may, perhaps, be traced the first idea, in the mind of the late Mr. Dowse, of that munificent design which resulted in our possession of his noble library.

Another of those visits — that to the old head-quarters of Washington, on the 17th of June last, by invitation of Mr. Longfellow — was too full of delightful associa-

tions to be ever forgotten by any one who was privileged to be present at it.

It could not be thought strange, therefore, in view of precedents and experiences like these, that the Standing Committee should have eagerly embraced the opportunity for another meeting of a similar kind, so kindly proposed to us by our worthy and liberal host; and that they should have willingly conformed to his convenience in anticipating by four and twenty hours the regular time of the August meeting.

The little peninsula on which we were gathered was not without an interesting history of its own. As early as 1614, the famous Captain John Smith included it in his survey of the New-England coast, delineating it unmistakably on his map, though his description would not be so easily recognized. It is as follows:—

“The next I can remember by the name are the Mattahunts,—two pleasant isles of groves, gardens, and cornfields, a league in the maine. The isles of Mattahunts are on the west side of the bay, where are many isles, and some rocks, that appear a great height above the water, like the Pieramides of Egypt.”

A former member of this Society, Mr. Alonzo Lewis, says, that, “by the Mattahunts, he probably meant the Nahants, which he named the Fullerton Islands.” Mr. Lewis had also told us, that, in 1622, “Nahantee” was granted by the council in England to Captain Robert Gorges, who came over the next year. Many other interesting and amusing particulars connected with the history of this place might be found in the little hand-

book entitled the "Picture of Nahant," in which, of course, the far-famed sea-serpent was not forgotten.

But, even if Nahant had no history before, our host himself had rendered it an historical place. It would be indelicate for the Chair to dwell at any length, in his own presence and beneath his own roof, upon the marvellous results of his persevering enterprise and unfailing liberality. The evidences were all around us, by every roadside, along every pathway, in every tree, shrub, plant. But the Society would be gratified if Mr. Tudor would give them, by and by, some little account of what he had attempted and accomplished during the third of a century since he entered on the work, and of the gradual processes by which "the groves and gardens and cornfields," which had so long and so hopelessly disappeared, had been once more restored to these seemingly bleak and barren rocks.

Meantime, it would be pleasant to all of us to remember, that this, our first meeting at Nahant, was under the roof of the son of one at whose house, in Boston, our Society held its original meeting sixty-seven years ago.

On the 24th of January, 1791, the first meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society was held at the mansion of Hon. William Tudor, and was attended by eight persons. Our future annals will bear witness, that notwithstanding the distance, and the menacing character of the weather, more than four times that number assembled at the house of Frederic Tudor, Esq., at Nahant, on the 11th of August, 1858.

Nor will they fail to bear witness also to the great

historical epoch at which this meeting was held. We were here in the very week, perhaps on the very day, perhaps at the very hour, when the first articulate message was passing from the sovereign of Great Britain to our own republican President, through the medium of that magical electric chain which had at last bound together the two hemispheres. It was an event to designate an era in the history of the world.

The President, in concluding his introductory remarks, alluded playfully to the fact that other *Sparks* had just crossed the ocean, in advance of the action of the Electric Telegraph, which they had all observed with the highest satisfaction; and he took the opportunity of welcoming, in behalf of the whole Society, their distinguished Vice-President, Hon. Jared Sparks, on his return to the scene of his studies and honorable labors, and whom he rejoiced to see present on this occasion.

Mr. LIVERMORE, after referring to the great event of the week to which the President had alluded, read the following letter from Hon. Edward Everett, whom indisposition had kept from the meeting: —

BOSTON, 10th August, 1858.

MY DEAR Mr. LIVERMORE, — I have great pleasure, in compliance with the wish expressed in your note of this day, in sending to you, for the purpose of being exhibited at the meeting of the Historical Society, the accompanying specimens — four in number — of the “Atlantic Submarine Electric Telegraph Cable.” They were kindly presented to me by Captain Hudson, of the “Niagara;” and they show the wires in the several successive stages of their preparation. A larger piece of the cable, given me by Mr. Peabody, is in the hands of a friend not living in Boston.

I regret that the state of my health prevents my attending the meeting, and exhibiting these interesting objects in person to the Society, which will no doubt mark upon its records the great occurrence of the past week, as the most extraordinary, and, let us hope, the most auspicious, event in our recent history.

It is just a century ago since Dr. Franklin, at the request of Professor Winthrop, of Harvard College (a relative, I believe, of our worthy President), sent a complete electrical battery, prepared in part with his own hands, to be used in the lectures on natural philosophy in that institution. This, I suppose, was the first occasion on which the astonishing, and then recently observed, phenomena of electricity were systematically demonstrated at a place of education. We may be permitted to reflect with some satisfaction, as citizens of Massachusetts, that she has given birth to three persons so prominently connected as Franklin, Morse, and Field, with the origin and progress of this wonder-working science, and especially as the last two named with this its most marvelous application.

Let us still more rejoice in the anticipation, that its beneficent results, of which it tasks the most creative imagination to conceive the extent, will redound to the advantage of all mankind.

I remain, dear Mr. Livermore, with great regard,
Your Friend and Associate,

EDWARD EVERETT.

In answer to the call of the President, Mr. SPARKS gave an unstudied relation of a few incidents of his recent visit to Europe, which he supposed might be of some interest to the meeting. At Florence, he had found valuable papers relating to Vespucci, which he had ordered to be transcribed, and should present to

the Society. The members of the family of the distinguished navigator, who, though not opulent, are in good circumstances, informed him, that, some years ago, they parted with an original portrait of their ancestor to an American gentleman, who avowed that he desired it for an American public institution; and that it had been traced to New York, but that its present place of deposit is not known. It was a matter of deep regret to the family, that this original is not in our national halls. Copies of it represented the same melancholy face, and also the hand holding a map, which are seen in the picture in possession of this Society.

Mr. Sparks spoke of the British State-paper Office, where there is a valuable collection of documents relating to the early history of our country, which ought to be copied, especially at the present time, when the British Government are remarkably liberal in granting permission to students of history, and to all proper persons, to examine and transcribe whatever papers they may require. They simply require that the matter copied should be submitted to a responsible officer, and approved by him. He himself had found no difficulty in getting whatever he wanted.

Mr. Sparks also found a commendable liberality in Holland. In France, the restrictions were greater.

In concluding, Mr. Sparks spoke of our national reputation abroad. On the Continent generally, and especially in Paris, the United States were less favorably regarded. The Paris press and monarchists everywhere were willing to magnify against us every thing disparaging to our free institutions; such as partisan

disputes, mobs, duels, and political troubles. The Red Republicans dislike the government of the United States, because the people have no more liberty; the aristocratic circles, because we are a republic. In England, the case was different. There the United States are held in respect, as a nation worthy of being conciliated, and of being connected with England by closer ties, with a view of being a strong ally in future contests with absolutism.

With regard to France, there are illustrious exceptions, amongst men of science, to the remark he had just now made. As a striking illustration, he would read from the "Moniteur" of March 2, 1858, an extract from a paper read to the Academy of Sciences by Baron Charles Dupin, alluding to the State of Massachusetts.

TRANSLATION.

On the west of the Atlantic, Massachusetts, though small in territory, and incomparably less fertile than the basins of the Mississippi, the La Plata, and the Amazon, is made great by agriculture, and, above all, by industry. It takes the lead in science and art among the one hundred and twenty States of the New World. To its limited boundaries it adds two oceans. It sends towards the polar circles, to attack the huge cetacea, more seamen than all other nations put together. It seeks in Asia the treasures of the equatorial clime, and pays for the precious perfumes and spices of the torrid zone with *the ice of its lakes*. It compels its running waters, as if by magic, to become the servants of utility; transforming its cataracts and rapids into obedient motive powers, rivals of steam. It is not enough for this State to found its noble University at Cambridge, to extend the boundaries of science, and add even stars to its conquests: it builds, at the same

time, its Manchester, its Glasgow, its Leeds, and its Halifax. During the half-century which follows that which we describe, it has been preparing, against the colossus of British industry, a struggle of giants. The struggle has already begun. New England braces herself to a second war of independence, and the conquest will be the independence of the arts.

The President submitted from Hon. William Appleton an original circular, dated Boston, July 28, 1785, from James Bowdoin, Governor of Massachusetts, to the Governor of the State of Maryland, transmitting an Act of the Legislature of Massachusetts for the regulation of navigation and commerce. It is as follows:—

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,

BOSTON, July 28, 1785.

SIR,—In compliance with the enclosed resolutions of the Legislature of this Commonwealth, I transmit for the perusal of your Excellency an Act passed in their last session for the regulating of navigation and commerce. This Act is intended as a temporary expedient, to prevent, as far as it is in the power of the Legislature of a single State, the effects of a system of commercial policy adopted by the British Government, which, it is conceived, will be ruinous to the trade of the United States. That nation seems to build her hopes and expectations of carrying these plans into execution upon a supposed interference of commercial interests among these States, and a mutual jealousy arising therefrom, which will render it impracticable for them to agree to vest Congress with a sufficient power to regulate the trade of the United States. But such hopes must be grounded upon an antecedent, and, I would hope, a mistaken opinion, that these States, in the time of their prosperity, have lost that sense of honor and justice, that mutual feeling of friendship and attachment,

and, above all, that public virtue, and supreme regard to the interest and safety of *the whole*, which so powerfully actuated them in the day of common danger, and which will be ever essentially necessary, so long as they shall continue to be one great confederated Commonwealth. It highly concerns *united sovereign* States duly to attend to the ruling principles of all well-regulated societies; and it concerns them the more, because they may be more apt than others to forget that the interest of individuals must be governed by that of the whole.

It is much to be desired that Congress may be vested with a *well-guarded* power to regulate the trade of the United States. This being effected, the Act of our Commonwealth will cease to operate. In the mean time, it is to be relied on that the mutual friendship and good-humor of the several States towards each other, their sentiments of honor and justice, will be a sufficient pledge, that, when measures wisely calculated to defeat the unjust designs of foreigners against the trade or general interest of the United States are taken by any individual State, they may be adopted by all; so that no one State may be left to suffer essentially in its own trade by its laudable zeal and exertion for the common safety.

I shall, from time to time, transmit to your Excellency such Acts of the Legislature of this Commonwealth as may regard the general interest of the confederacy, or that of your State in particular, and request you to oblige me with similar communications.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem, sir, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

JAMES BOWDOIN.

His Excellency the Governor of the State of Maryland.

MR. TUDOR, at the request of the President, gave an interesting account of the origin and progress of his

very successful attempts to promote the culture of trees, vegetables, and flowers, at Nahant, from the year 1825, when he commenced the building of his cottage. The difficulty was not in the soil, but in the driving and blighting winds; from which having protected vegetation, he was enabled to raise whatever he had planted.

Mr. Tudor then conducted the members over his grounds, and through his fertile and beautiful garden, which gave evidence of what skill, perseverance, and taste can accomplish in an exposed and barren situation.

SEPTEMBER MEETING.

The Society held their stated monthly meeting on Thursday, Sept. 9, at noon, at their rooms in Tremont Street, Boston; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the Connecticut Historical Society; the Mercantile-Library Association; the New-York Agricultural Society; the Committee on the Map of Plymouth County; the Secretary of the State of Massachusetts; the State Librarian of Ohio; James L. Baker, Esq.; James Lenox, Esq.; J. Wingate Thornton, Esq.; Samuel Batchelder, jun., Esq.; L. A. Huguet Latour, Esq.; Rev. Samuel C. Jackson; Lieutenant J. M. Gilliss; Rev. L. Tenney; and from Messrs. Bowditch, Brigham, Lothrop, Robbins, Warren, and Winthrop, of the Society.

GEORGE T. CURTIS, Esq., and RICHARD H. DANA, jun., Esq., of Boston, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

Dr. WEBB read extracts from a diary kept by a young lady visiting in Boston in the year 1774, giving a graphic and amusing picture of the social life of the Bostonians at that period.

Mr. WARREN presented an original letter of Governor Josiah Winslow, dated 27th June, 1675, to "Capt. Cudworth and Councell," advising a cheerful and friendly deportment towards the commanders and forces of the Massachusetts.

The same gentleman also presented an original warrant, signed by Thomas Mayhew, Justice of the Peace of the County of Plymouth, issued the fourteenth day of February, 1778, for the notification of certain persons, suspected of being inimical to the United States of America, to appear, and take the prescribed oath of fidelity and allegiance.

Mr. LIVERMORE presented to the Society, as a gift from William H. Kent, Esq., an original copy of a proclamation issued by Governor Saltonstall, of Connecticut, for a fast on account of an unusual drought, dated at New London, Aug. 4, 1714. He also presented from the same gentleman a manuscript sermon preached at Roxbury by the Rev. Amos Adams, successor to the Rev. Oliver Peabody.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Kent for his acceptable contribution to its library.

OCTOBER MEETING.

The Society held their stated monthly meeting on Thursday, Oct. 14, at noon, at their rooms in Tremont Street, Boston; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary announced donations from the American Philosophical Society; the Chicago Historical Society; the New-York-State Agricultural Society; the City of Roxbury; Samuel A. Green, M.D.; Rev. Seth Sweetser, D.D.; William Winthrop, Esq., consul at Malta; and from Messrs. Brooks, Lamson, Robbins, Whitney, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary communicated letters of acceptance from Messrs. S. F. Haven, Richard H. Dana, jun., and G. T. Curtis. He also read a communication from Mr. C. B. Norton, which was referred to the Standing Committee.

Mr. ROBBINS, from the Committee on publishing the Catalogue of the Society's Library, exhibited a printed specimen of the few first pages for the inspection of the members.

Hon. ALBERT G. GREEN, of Providence, R. I., and Hon. JOHN P. KENNEDY, of Maryland, were elected Corresponding Members.

On motion of Mr. BRIGHAM, it was unanimously *Voted*, That the Society entertain a grateful sense of the kind and considerate interest manifested by their

esteemed associate, the Hon. Edward Everett, in consenting to prepare his Memoir of Thomas Dowse in the form of a lecture, for public delivery on the Society's behalf; and that the Standing Committee have full powers to confer with Mr. Everett, and make all necessary arrangements for carrying his purpose into effect.

Mr. ADAMS, from the Committee on the Cabinet, presented a written Report; which was accepted, and the recommendations contained in it adopted.

The President suggested an interpretation of the title, "Knight of the Golden Melice," given to Sir Christopher Gardiner, in Winthrop's "History of New England," in the following remarks:—

Governor Winthrop, on page 55 of his "History of New England," first volume (page 65, Savage's new edition), under date of 21st April, 1631, says as follows: "One Mr. Gardiner (calling himself Sir Christopher Gardiner, Knight of the *Golden Melice*), being accused to have two wives in England, was sent for," &c.

This designation, "Knight of the Golden Melice," has given occasion to much inquiry; and has never, to my knowledge, been satisfactorily explained.

In the first edition of the Journal, or History (Hartford, 1790), the word *melice* is left blank; and our worthy Ex-President, Mr. Savage, by whom the word was deciphered, has given it, in both his editions, without comment.

The Greek word *melissa* could hardly fail of suggesting itself to any scholar who was in search of an interpretation of Sir Christopher's real or assumed designation; and, within a few years past, an historical romance has been published in New York, entitled the "Knight of the Golden Melice," in which are found the following passages of an imaginary dialogue between Gardiner and Governor Winthrop:—

“‘Ever true to the principle of the *melissa*,’ said the governor, smiling, ‘what can the Knight of the Golden Melice crave, which John Winthrop can deny?’

“The Knight of the Golden *Melissa*, or Melice, as he was commonly called, — meaning thereby the Knight of the Golden Honey-bee; and who, by wearing conspicuously about his person the device or badge, adopted when he received the order of knighthood, only complied with the fantastic notions of the times, — gazed a moment at the figure of the bee on the handle of his sword, before replying: ‘The golden bee does remind me,’ he said, ‘that even as he, in the summer of his days, collects the yellow treasure which is to sustain him in the death of winter; so should I, while the day is mine, be busy to perform the will of Him who hath called me to a post in his creation, that I be not ashamed in the grave.’”

One may well have some compunction about disturbing a theory which has proved suggestive of so much fine sentiment; and if any trace could be found of any order of knighthood which had employed a golden bee as its emblem, or if there were any evidence that Sir Christopher had adopted it as his own particular badge or device, there would be no occasion to inquire further. But, even then, it would be difficult to imagine how Gardiner himself, or, still more, how Governor Winthrop, should have been led to change the honest English designation of “Knight of the Golden Honey-bee” into any thing so affected as the “Knight of the Golden Melice, or Melissa.”

A simpler and more natural explanation of the title would seem to be as follows:—

In Llorente’s “History of the Inquisition” (vol. i. pp. 52, 133, 203) is found the following passage (having reference to the thirteenth century): “Un nouvel ordre de chevalerie destiné à poursuivre les hérétiques sur le modèle de celui des Templiers, et sous le nom de *Milice* de Christ.” And

both here and elsewhere it is found that the word *milice* was the generic term in France for "chivalry," or "knighthood." Thus the "History of Knighthood in France," by Daniel, is entitled "*Milice Française*."

Mr. Savage has printed the word, in both his editions, *melice*; and an inspection of the original manuscripts leaves little doubt that Winthrop so wrote it. But doubtless he wrote it by the sound, without knowing much of the orthography of the French word.

But what is to be done with the word *golden*? A moment's reflection will recall the fact, that "*Eques auratus*" is the common translation of the title "knight," as our own "Harvard Triennial" abundantly proves. (See the degree of Sir James Mackintosh, &c., &c.)

And thus the assumed designation of Sir Christopher is simplified into what we all can understand,—the *golden* corresponding to the Latin *auratus*, which is familiar in such connections; and the *melice* being only the generic French term for "knighthood," and the particular term for the "*Milice de Christ*."

This theory seems to be confirmed by what has been stated by Governor Bradford, by Morton and Prince, and by Dudley in his letter to the Countess of Lincoln, in regard to Sir Christopher's knighthood.

Dudley says, "Likewise we were lately informed that one Mr. Gardiner, who arrived here a month before us, and who had passed here for a knight, by the name of Sir Christopher Gardiner, all this while was no knight, but, instead thereof, had two wives now living in a house at London," &c. Dudley meant, doubtless, that he was no English knight. "His woman," he continues, "was brought unto us, and confessed her name, and that her mother dwells eight miles from Boirdly, in Salopshire, &c., &c.; . . . that she takes him to be a knight, but never heard where he was knighted."

Governor Bradford, however (and Prince and Morton both

copy from him), says of Sir Christopher, that, "being a great traveller, he received his first honor of knighthood at Jerusalem, being made *Knight of the Sepulchre* there."

This would seem entirely consistent with the idea, that *melice* was intended for "Milice de Christ;" as nothing would be more probable than that the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem should be styled the Milice (militia), or soldiers, of Christ. Shakspeare has this exact idea at the very opening of the first part of his "Henry IV.," where he makes the king say, —

" Therefore, friends,
As far as to the *sepulchre of Christ*,
(Whose *soldier* now, under whose blessed cross
We are impressed and engaged to fight,") &c.

And thus Gardiner's title may have been an honest one, after all. In his travels to the Holy Land, he may have been enrolled among some of those orders of knighthood with which that part of the world, in that age, abounded. The word *melice* is used only by Winthrop; but it is at least an amusing coincidence, that Bradford concludes his notice of Gardiner by saying, "After he gott for England, he showed his *malice*; but God prevented him."

This theory of the meaning of Gardiner's designation, as given by Governor Winthrop, was suggested by the citations from Llorente's "History of the Inquisition" and Daniel's "Milice Française," found among the learned notes of Mr. Buckle, in his recently published work on "Civilization" (pp. 458-9, 61, Am. ed.).

Before leaving Mr. Buckle's work, another note of his may be briefly alluded to. On page 476, he says, "Thus Downing, too, though a poor charity-boy, became teller of the Exchequer, and representative of England at the Hague." And, in a note, he adds, "The common opinion is that he was the son of a clergyman at Hackney; but, if so, he was probably illegitimate, considering the way he was brought

up. However, his Hackney origin is very doubtful; and no one appears to know who his father was."

Now, it is well known, on this side of the Atlantic, that George Downing, afterwards Sir George, was one of the first class of graduates at Harvard College; that his father was Emanuel Downing, long a respected resident in New England; and that his mother was Lucy Winthrop, the sister of our Governor Winthrop. If Mr. Buckle, in his multitudinous reading, had consulted the last edition of Lord Braybrooke's "Pepys," he would have found the father's name correctly stated on the authority of Mr. Savage. Whatever faults Downing may have developed in his later life,—and he has, justly or unjustly, been generally described as something of an intriguer and a time-server,—no one had a more authentic parentage; and it is yet to be learned what reason there was to cavil at "the way he was brought up," since he was educated at Harvard College.

The President called the attention of the Society to a volume presented by their associate, Mr. Brooks; being volume first of the "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society," on a fly-leaf of which is the following sentence, in the handwriting of Dr. Franklin: "Mr. Franklin presents his compliments to M. Le Roy, and requests his acceptance of this volume." It is addressed on the outside of the cover, by the same hand, to "M. Le Roy, aux galeries de Louvre."

MR. SIBLEY read a letter written by Mr. Hazard, containing information respecting the expedition to Penobscot in 1770.

JAMAICA PLAIN, March 22, 1780.

GENTLEMEN,—I have not received any letter from you since I wrote you last; but, as I find this State have some expectations of making the Penobscot expedition a Continen-

tal charge, I think it but a piece of justice to the State of New York, and indeed all the rest, to give you some hints about it. That affair has made great uneasiness here; but very little has been published in the newspapers about it. Whether the printers were under any influence, or what the reason was, I shall not pretend to say. A general dissatisfaction, however, produced the enclosed pamphlet, which I *lend* you, to be returned to me when I come to Philadelphia. In the first paper, "the principal causes of the failure" are said to be "clearly pointed out in the Report of the Committee of both Houses on the 7th October." In that Report, the principal blame is laid upon the commodore. I have no doubt he was very culpable; but, from the face of the Report, it appears to me, that, as he was a *Continental* officer, it was hoped his bulk would keep the smaller fry out of sight, and thereby the credit of the State would be saved, and a plea furnished for saddling the Continent with the expense. But, were I a member of Congress, I should, when that matter came upon the carpet, ask some such questions as the following, from which, perhaps, some light might be thrown upon it:—

Was General Gates consulted at all respecting the expedition? He was then the Continental officer commanding the army in this department, and was at Providence, not a day's ride from Boston. If the Continent were to bear the expense, it was certainly proper to consult at least the principal Continental officer in the neighborhood, especially when it could be so easily and expeditiously done.

Was there not a proposal in one of the Houses composing the General Court for calling in the aid of some Continental troops, which was rejected with a remark similar to this, "If but ten Continental soldiers are concerned, the Continent will take all the honor"?

What occasioned the deficiency of "nearly one-third" of the men ordered upon that service?

Upon whom was "that shameful neglect chargeable"?

What number of shells or bombs was sent with the howitzer which the Board of War was directed to send on to Penobscot?

If there were none, upon whom was that neglect chargeable? and what punishment has been inflicted for it?

It appears, by Mr. President Powel's letter of July 14th to the Navy Board, that the vessels intended for Penobscot were but then ready to proceed to sea; and his letter to General Lovell, dated July 23, mentions a report, believed by many, that two ships of force had left Sandy Hook the 16th of that month, and stood to the eastward: from which it seems there was reason to apprehend the enemy had notice of the design; and it is certain it was known in Connecticut before that time. How came it to be known?

Have there not been several escapes from the prison-ship in Boston Harbor? and was there not one about that time, by which there is reason to believe the enemy at New York were certainly informed of the intended expedition against Penobscot?

Has the (State) commissary's neglect, in not properly guarding or securing the prisoners on board the prison-ship, been punished? and in what manner?

Did not the Council receive information that some of the officers on that expedition requested leave from General Lovell (after having arrived at the eastward) to resign their commissions, acknowledging they were cowards?

Why was not General Gates applied to for assistance before it was too late to hope that his troops could be of any service? If it was owing to want of information from Penobscot, why did not General Lovell send the information sooner?

Did not Colonel Revere return to Boston both without orders and without his men? What censure has he received for this?

So much for the questions. The enemy's fort was at that

time unfinished, as the commander of it declares in his letter to the ministry; and, from the concurrent testimony of our troops when they returned, it appears that our people all knew it, and that the enemy were but in a very weak state. *It is said* they had but two guns mounted. The general, then, must have behaved very badly in not attacking it, even without the assistance of the commodore. I have heard it frequently reported that Colonel McLean had said he would have surrendered the fort the day after our troops arrived, had it been demanded. His informing the ministry that our fleet consisted of *thirty-seven* sail makes the report probable; for he could have no idea of holding so weak a fort against such a force.

I wrote you formerly, advising that Congress should buy up, with bills of exchange, all the Continental money they could. From a late resolve of *Connecticut*, I suspect they are upon that plan, apprehending there will be peace soon, and that each dollar they now purchase at the depreciated rate will hereafter yield them a silver one. You have doubtless seen the resolve I refer to; which, I think, has a very pernicious tendency. The emitting that money, payable in *hard money* after the expiration of four years, will (if *Connecticut* has as much credit as they seem to think) depreciate Continental bills of credit immediately and amazingly; and the whole Union will suffer by it, unless every State could do the same (which they cannot), and Congress could afterwards draw the bills out of their hands by taxes, to be destroyed. It will hurt Continental credit, because it contains a practical declaration, that the faith of an individual State is better than that of all united; and, notwithstanding the absurdity contained in the declaration, the depreciation of our money will make many fools believe it. Their promise to pay their troops in hard money will occasion discontents in the army, and murmurings among the troops of other States. This matter ought to be attended to.

The persons who were to go to Plymouth and New Hampshire for papers relating to the Vermont affair are to set off to-day. The roads and weather have prevented their going before. Please to inform General Scot of this. I don't write to him, because he is a letter or two in my debt; and it is a rule with me, not to write to those who neglect answering my letters. I am making some extracts from an old manuscript history, which will be of use to New York in that controversy. These I shall bring with me.

I am, gentlemen, your very humble servant,

EBEN HAZARD.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

The Society held their stated monthly meeting on Thursday, Nov. 11, at their rooms in Tremont Street, Boston; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the Department of State of the United States; L. A. Huguet Latour, Esq.; Hon. George Folsom; Hon. S. D. Bell; Rev. William Barry; Rev. F. Denison; Hon. J. V. H. Clark; Benjamin Guild, Esq.; H. T. Duncan, Esq.; Adams and Sampson; and from Messrs. Adams, Brooks, Felt, Robbins, Shurtleff, Willard, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary communicated letters of acceptance from Dr. S. G. Kohl and Count Jules de Menou.

The President presented, on behalf of Benjamin R. Winthrop, Esq., two medals of the American Art

Union, — one of Washington Allston, for the year 1847; and the other of Gilbert Stuart, for the year 1848. The thanks of the Society were voted to the donor for his acceptable gift to the cabinet.

The President also laid on the table a "Memoir of the Life of John Quincy Adams," by Josiah Quincy; a gift to the library from the author.

The Standing Committee were clothed with full powers to make all necessary arrangements for the delivery, on the 9th of December, of Mr. Everett's Address commemorative of the life and character of the Society's munificent benefactor, Thomas Dowse.

The Librarian presented a photograph of the Trustees of the Massachusetts Humane Society; a gift from the trustees.

Mr. TICKNOR, from the Committee on the Belknap Donation, made a summary verbal report of the doings of the Committee; calling the attention of the Society to two cabinets, in which had been deposited the manuscript sermons and valuable pamphlets of Dr. Belknap, in neat and elegant bindings; and also to his correspondence, which the Committee had caused to be properly arranged in numbered letter-books.

Mr. Ticknor alluded in strong terms of commendation to the important services which had been rendered by his colleague, Mr. Deane. After interesting remarks, the same gentleman read to the Society several original letters from General Washington to Dr. Belknap, and one from Lord Lyttelton, dated London, March 29, 1776. Whereupon, on motion of Mr. WILLARD, it was unanimously *Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be

presented to Messrs. Ticknor and Deane for their highly valuable and successful services to the Society in arranging the Belknap Papers, and in providing for the preservation of Dr. Belknap's sermons and pamphlets in strong and beautiful bindings.

The letters referred to above are here printed: —

LONDON, March, 29, 1766.

SIR, — I am much ashamed of not having sooner returned you my thanks for the favor of your letter, and for the pleasure I received from the verses you were so good as to send me; but I waited till Mrs. Carter should come to town, that I might show her your letter, and make her acknowledgments, as well as my own, for the honor you have done us. Her stay in the country was longer than I had expected; but she is now in London, and desires me to join her thanks to mine for the obligations we have to you. We are both pleased with your verses, in which the spirit of poetry is not wanting, but in which a still better spirit—that of piety and virtue—is very abundant. It is particularly meritorious in a young man of your age to employ such fine parts in the service of religion and Christian morality. Go on, dear sir, to cultivate in your heart these excellent sentiments, and in your mind these amiable talents. Not only the poet's laurel, but a more unfading crown, will be the reward of your perseverance. May I not also add, that (if you are *Thyrsis*) the constant love of the charming *Sylvia* will be a sweeter recompense than any other *this world* can give to her shepherd's genius and goodness?

Permit me to tell, that I feel the pleasure you have given me not a little alloyed by the reflection, that the distance we are at from each other will not allow me to cultivate a personal acquaintance with one whose character I so much esteem. But the vast tract of ocean which separates our

bodies cannot hinder our souls from joining in friendly sympathy with each other; and believe me, dear sir, that as you say *your soul will always love me*, so mine will sincerely return that love. As one mark of this affection, and by way of acknowledgment for the present you made to me, I have ordered Mr. Dodsley to send a new edition I have published of my "Dialogues of the Dead," with four additional dialogues, and many corrections of the former. If there is any thing for your pleasure or service in this country which I can do, you may command,

Dear sir, your most faithful and obedient servant,

LYTTELTON.

MOUNT VERNON, 5th January, 1785.

REVEREND SIR, — A few days ago, under cover from Mr. Hazard of Philadelphia, I was honored with your favor of the 19th of July, and the first volume of your "History of New Hampshire."

For both, I pray you to accept my thanks; but my acknowledgments are more particularly due for your favorable expression, in the former, of my past endeavors to support the cause of liberty.

The proof you have given of your approbation of this is interesting. I receive it with gratitude, and am with great respect,

Reverend sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed)

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The Rev. Mr. BELKNAP.

PHILADELPHIA, May 9, 1794.

SIR, — Your letter of the 14th ultimo, and the first volume of an American Biography, came safe to my hands. For both, I pray you to accept my thanks, and to consider me as a subscriber for the latter.

I wish it was in my power to afford you any aid in the prosecution of so desirable a work. But I do not see wherein

I can; and, if I did, my avocations are of such a nature as to allow me no time to profit by the means. My good wishes, therefore, seems to be all that is left me on this occasion. These, with great sincerity, I offer you, with assurances of being,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The Rev. Mr. J. BELKNAP.

MOUNT VERNON, 15th June, 1798.

REVEREND SIR, — Your favor of the 29th ultimo, accompanying the discourse delivered on the day recommended by the President of the United States to be observed for a fast, was received in the usual course of the mail from Boston; and the copies therewith sent were forwarded agreeably to your desire.

My best wishes attend the prosecution of your "American Biography," and (not recollecting whether the request was made before) I desire I may be considered as a subscriber to the first volume. To the proposal which came under cover to me, I have affixed my name; and will lodge the paper in the hands of a gentleman in Alexandria, for the convenience of those who may incline to become subscribers thereto, and thereafter to return it to you.

My information relative to the family of Calvert is more limited than the one detailed by you. I know little more of it than what is recited in the "History of Virginia;" but I will send a transcript of so much of your letter as relates to this subject to a well-informed gentleman of my acquaintance in Maryland (Judge Chase), and give you the result.

I know of no other histories of Virginia than those mentioned in your letter; but I recollect well to have heard the late Richard Bland, of Prince-George City, say, before the Revolution, that he was either possessed of or was collecting materials, and hoped to furnish a more correct history of it

than any that was then extant. He was very competent to the undertaking; being a man of erudition and intelligence, long a member of the councils of this State, and afterwards a member of the first Congresses that were held in Philadelphia. Bishop Madison, with whom you seem to be in the habit of corresponding, is as likely to give information on the point sought after by you as any *one person* I am acquainted with. To the descendant of a gentleman (the Hon. Richard Corbin, many years deceased), who, it has been said, possessed some valuable notes relative to ancient transactions and the actors of those times in this State, I will write; and, if any thing worthy of notice is obtained, you shall be furnished therewith.

If I can render you any service in procuring materials for your valuable Biography, I shall feel pleasure in doing it. I hope both life and health will be dispensed to you by Him in whose hands all things are, until *this* and many other of your good works are completed.

For the discourse which you were so obliging as to send me, and for the favorable sentiments with which it was accompanied, I pray you to accept the best thanks of, reverend sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The Rev. Mr. BELKNAP.

MOUNT VERNON, 12th July, 1798.

REVEREND SIR, — Agreeably to the promise contained in my last, I put your proposal for continuing and enlarging the subscription for the "American Biography," &c., into the hands of a friend of mine in Alexandria, for the purpose of obtaining subscribers; and enclosed you will receive the result. — With great esteem and respect,

I am, sir, your obedient and very humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

DECEMBER MEETING.

The Society held their stated monthly meeting on Thursday, Dec. 9, at noon, at their rooms in Tremont Street, Boston; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the American Antislavery Society; the Massachusetts Bible Society; the Massachusetts Colonization Society; the Eliot-Library Association; G. W. Adams, Esq.; S. A. Green, M.D.; Cyrus Woodman, Esq.; Rev. Rufus Anderson, D.D.; Rev. H. B. Hooker, D.D.; S. K. Whipple, Esq.; J. W. Thornton, Esq.; Rev. W. B. Sprague, D.D.; and from Messrs. Adams, N. Appleton, Lamson, Livermore, Saltonstall, Sibley, Shurtleff, Ticknor, and Winthrop, of the Society.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, letters of acceptance were read by the Recording Secretary from Hon. Albert G. Greene, of Providence, R.I.; and Hon. John P. Kennedy, of Maryland.

The President called the attention of the Society to a large and valuable donation to the library, by Mr. Ticknor, consisting of more than fifty volumes of poetry published in this country, the greater number previous to the year 1800.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Ticknor for his highly interesting and very valuable donation to the library.

The President also presented to the Society four parts of a work in the course of publication, entitled "American Battle-roll, from Lexington to Mexico, by Henry B. Dawson;" a gift from the author.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Henry B. Dawson, Esq., for the first four numbers of his beautifully illustrated work.

The President read a note from Mr. Warren, inviting the Society to meet at his residence, in Beacon Street, on the evening of Tuesday, the 21st of December. The invitation was accepted.

EDWARD A. CROWNINSHIELD, Esq., was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. ELLIS presented two Chinese maps; a gift from Lieutenant George H. Preble.

Mr. SALSTONSTALL presented two of Ames's Almanacs of the years 1765 and 1766, with manuscript notes, and a small volume of notes of sermons in manuscript; which were referred to the Publishing Committee.

SPECIAL MEETING.

A special meeting of the Society was held this evening, the 21st of December (the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims), at the residence of Hon. Charles H. Warren, No. 50, Beacon Street.

The President took the chair, and called the Society to order, at eight o'clock. In the course of his introductory remarks, he stated, that, over fifty years ago, an attempt

was made to pledge the Society to an annual celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims, but that there had been only one celebration of the day by it; viz., in 1813, when Judge Davis delivered an oration at the King's Chapel, and the Society dined at Concert Hall. On the present occasion, Mr. Winthrop said they had assembled at the invitation of an associate, who had six direct ancestors who were passengers in the "Mayflower," and could claim two more, at least, in right of his wife.

Mr. WINTHROP then alluded to a visit he had made during the last summer to Cape Cod; to the beauty of the bluff at Truro; and of the old Cape-Cod harbor, in which the "Mayflower" was first moored. He deeply regretted to learn that there was still a well-founded apprehension, that the action of the winds and waves on the sand-hills around the harbor would cut off all connection with the main land; and he expressed the hope, that public attention would be seriously turned to that fact.

Mr. Winthrop referred to the mistaken popular impression that existed as to the precise facts which occurred on the 21st of December, 1620. He named an elaborate engraving, published in London, and dedicated to the people of the United States, in which the Pilgrims are represented as landing on the 15th of November, 1620; when the truth is, that only a few of the company went ashore at Cape Cod as an exploring party. It had also been represented in art and in literature, that on the 21st of December, 1620, the whole Pilgrim company landed at Plymouth; but the "May-

flower," on that day, was moored in the harbor of Cape Cod, having on board Elder Brewster and all the women and children. At that date, there landed at Plymouth a party of explorers, who had gone out in a shallop to seek a place for a permanent habitation; and it was many days after, before the whole company arrived at Plymouth. He thought that art should be more true to historical fact.

Mr. Winthrop said that a question had been raised, whether Mary Chilton or John Alden was the first to step on the rock, and that Judge Davis had suggested, that, as a matter of gallantry, the preference should be awarded to the lady; but Professor Longfellow, in his late poem, had made John Alden the Protesilaus of the expedition, though with no other penalty than the wrath of Miles Standish for his having won the affections of Priscilla Mullins. But, if the question related to the 21st of December, it was altogether a foreign one; since there were no females in the shallop which came to Plymouth on that day, and John Alden was not one of the boat's crew, the names of whom are given by Bradford.

Mr. WARREN described various memorials of the Pilgrims, which stood in view in the apartment in which the Society were assembled. The chair in which the President sat came over in the "Mayflower." The seal used by Governor Winslow, with his arms and crest, and a pewter plate, with his initials on the back, and coat-of-arms on the rim, were on the table; also the swords of Brewster, Standish, and Carver. The Standish sword was once in the keeping of Dr. Belknap, to

whom, on one occasion, when it was thought necessary to have a volunteer night patrol in Boston, the late Judge Davis addressed the following note:—

MONDAY EVENING, ———.

DEAR SIR,— Will you confide to my care Miles Standish's sword till to-morrow morning? I shall think myself honored in mounting guard with it. If I expected any use for it, however, I should hardly dare to ask for the loan, lest this venerable weapon should for the first time be discredited.

Yours as ever,

JN. DAVIS.

Dr. BELKNAP.

Mr. Warren exhibited two scrap-books — the property of William Gilmore, Esq., of Baltimore, Md.—containing a rare collection of autographs. Amongst them were those of Queen Elizabeth, Oliver Cromwell, and many other distinguished persons in different ages and countries.

Mr. Warren read the original of Dr. Franklin's letter to Miss Hubbard, of Boston, dated Feb. 23, 1756, on the death of his brother, John Franklin, a copy of which will be found printed in Mr. Sparks's collection. He also read the following extract from a letter of General Jackson to Mr. Poinsett:—

“HERMITAGE, 10th January, 1838.

“This will be handed you by my friend —, who is a young gentleman of good education and high moral worth. He was pursuing a course of studies to fit himself for the ministry, of the Episcopalian order; and, to enable him to proceed, he became Editor of the “Nashville Union” for a short time. This so displeased a few of the Whig editors, and dea-

cons of the church, that they, for his becoming editor, dropped him as a candidate for orders in their church,—some of whom are believed here never to have had three grains of religion among them.”

Besides the autographs above alluded to, Mr. Warren selected for examination specimens of Washington's handwriting at the age of thirteen years, and also a report of a survey of a piece of land made by Washington at the age of seventeen, signed “G. Washington, S.C.C.” (perhaps, Surveyor for County Court).

Mr. SAVAGE offered, at some length, interesting and impressive remarks regarding the providential character of the events which led to, accompanied, and followed the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

Mr. BRIGHAM read extracts from the wills and inventories of Miles Standish, Elder Brewster, and Governor Bradford, which he had copied from original records. He particularly called attention to the following sentences from Governor Bradford's will:—

“I commend unto your wisdom and discretion some small books written by my own hand, to be improved as you shall see meet. In special, I commend to you a little book with a black cover, wherein is a word to New England, with sundry useful verses.”

Mr. DEANE stated that there was among the Belknap Papers a fragment of that “little book,” in Bradford's hand, of which Dr. Belknap had published a portion in the third volume of the Society's Collections. He also mentioned, that, while two or three of the officers of the Society were recently examining a very early manu-

script copy of Bradford's Poems in their archives, they had discovered that it contains a complete transcript of his "Description of New England,"—of which only the fragment above alluded to had been already printed,—and several other "verses" which were heretofore unknown to exist.

Mr. FELTON offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted; viz.,—

Resolved, That the thanks of the Massachusetts Historical Society be presented to their distinguished associate, the Hon. Edward Everett, for the interesting, instructive, and eloquent eulogy pronounced by him, at their request, on the evening of the 9th instant, on the late Thomas Dowse; and that he be respectfully requested to furnish a copy for publication.

Thanks were also voted to our venerable associate, Rev. William Jenks, D.D., for his highly acceptable service to the Society, as chaplain, on the occasion of Mr. Everett's discourse.

An interesting conversation ensued, in which Messrs. Savage, Ellis, Shurtleff, and Warren participated.

JANUARY MEETING. — 1859.

The Society held their stated monthly meeting on Thursday, Jan. 13, at noon, in their rooms, Tremont Street, Boston; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary announced donations from the American Antislavery Society; the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; the American Tract Society; the American Unitarian Association; the New-Jersey Historical Society; the Society of Antiquaries; the Smithsonian Institution; the County Commissioners of Bristol County; the County Commissioners of Norfolk County; Samuel A. Green, M.D.; Rev. Joseph S. Clarke, D.D.; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; B. P. Williams, Esq.; Count Jules de Menou; Rev. Dr. Palfrey; Rev. H. B. Hooker, D.D.; Rev. S. Willard; John Wilson and Son; Hon. S. G. Arnold; William Durrant Cooper, Esq.; and from Messrs. N. Appleton, Longfellow, Quint, Robbins, Savage, Sibley, and Winthrop, of the Society.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, no communication from his department was made.

Mr. WARREN presented a volume of the Camden Society's publications, edited by William Durrant Cooper, Esq., entitled "Savile Correspondence," — a gift from the editor; for which the thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Cooper.

Mr. LIVERMORE presented to the Society two printed papers, — one entitled "Stamp Duties," believed to be a list of duties during the last war; the other, "Embargo by Express," dated Boston, April 3, 1812.

Dr. SHURTLEFF communicated a donation, from Charles D. Kellogg, Esq., of a couch, made for General Lafayette when he visited Boston; for which the Cabinet-keeper was directed to express to the donor the thanks of the Society.

SUBSTITUTE for pages 147-48 of the last volume of Proceedings
(1858-1860).

The President communicated an invitation from Mr. Gray to the Society, to hold a special meeting at his residence, on Thursday evening next.

HON. LEVI LINCOLN, of Worcester, and Dr. JOSEPH PALMER, of Boston, were elected Resident Members.

SPECIAL MEETING.

A special meeting of the Society was held at the house of Hon. John C. Gray, Summer Street, this evening, the 20th of January. The President took the chair at seven and a half o'clock, and, in a few appropriate remarks, announced the decease of Lemuel Shattuck, — the ninth on our list of members, — and nominated Mr. Felt to prepare the customary Memoir for the Society's Collections.

He then proceeded to allude to the birthdays of Benjamin Franklin and Daniel Webster, which had been celebrated on the 17th and 18th inst.; and added, that possibly some of the antiquaries among our number might remember that Governor Winthrop's birthday was on the 22d; he having been born on the 12th of January, 1587, old style; which would be the 22d of January, 1588, new style. Thus, within the same week, were comprised the birthday anniversaries of at least three of the men who had been hardly second to any others who could be named in three of the great periods of New-England history, — the colonial, the revolutionary, and the constitutional.

The President remarked that he had been led to think of his ancestor's birthday from the fact that Cot-

"Magnalia," substituting June for January; and that, not long ago, one of our illustrated papers had taken this date for commemorating the governor by a portrait and a biographical sketch. In looking over some old family papers, he had found reason for believing that the governor was not born, as has usually been stated, at Groton, but at Edwardston, a little town between Groton and Sudbury, where his mother, Agnes Brown, had lived before her marriage, and where she was paying a visit to her parents at the time of her confinement.

At the instance of Mr. Winthrop, the unanimous consent of the Society was given to Mr. Everett to take from the library the "Tithes-book of the Parish of Ecton."

Mr. BOWDITCH presented to the Society a watch found on the person of Colonel Ebenezer Francis, who was killed at the battle of Hubbardston, A.D. 1777; also a copy of "Anburey's Travels," in two volumes, containing an account of the circumstances under which the watch came into the possession of the family of Colonel Francis, — gifts to the cabinet and library from Mrs. Elizabeth B. Bowditch and Mrs. Sarah Ellen Mason, grand-daughters of Colonel Francis.

On motion of Mr. CLIFFORD, *Voted*, That the thanks of this Society be respectfully tendered to Mrs. Bowditch and Mrs. Mason for the precious relic of their patriotic ancestor which they have generously given to the Society's cabinet, and for the interesting volumes accompanying it which they have contributed to the library.

Mr. WARREN communicated the following paper upon the subject of Washington's dress, and the

origin of the buff and blue uniform of the Revolutionary Army:—

Much curiosity has been excited in regard to the origin of the uniform of the Continental Army,—the famous blue and buff; and many inquiries have been made, with very partial success, as to the time when it was first adopted as a military dress. It does not appear that this dress has ever been worn by any portion of the British Army. Cannon, in his “Historical Record of the British Army,” says, “‘Buff,’ says Winslow, ‘is so called, because it hath some likeness with the buffle, or buffalo. Buffskin is a leather prepared from the skin of the buffalo, of which buff is a contraction. The third regiment of foot, formerly designated the Holland regiment, obtained a title from the color of their clothing. The men’s coats were lined or faced with buff. They also wore buff waistcoats, buff breeches, and buff stockings, and were emphatically styled the Buffs.’”

Cannon describes them as raised in 1572 for service in the Netherlands, and placed on the English establishment in 1665.

The thirty-first regiment in the English Army was raised in 1702, was dressed in the same manner, and styled the “Young Buffs.”

It will be perceived that nothing is said here in regard to the color of the coats; and although inquiries have been made in England, by my request, through the kindness of our Corresponding Member, William Durrant Cooper, Esq., it cannot be made certain, by reference to any record or regulation, what that color was.

It appears, however, by a plate of the battle of Malplaquet (11th September, 1709), that the third regiment (before referred to) are represented as in *red* coats, with buff facings, breeches, &c.

In the reign of Anne, *scarlet* and blue were definitely fixed upon as the uniform of the British Army.

It would seem certain, therefore, that our Revolutionary uniform was not copied from the British Army.

In a plate of the battle of Nieuport (1600), the *Spaniards* are represented as in *buff*, slashed with *light blue*.

When, and under what circumstances, then, was the "buff and blue" introduced in this country?

The earliest mention that I have been able to find, after extensive inquiry and research, is in a book published by J. F. D. Smyth, Esq., in London, in 1784. It appears that this Mr. Smyth resided in Virginia before and in the early periods of the Revolution; was a Tory; left Virginia, and was afterwards a captain in the British Army. In that book is this passage: "It was at Alexandria [where the author then was] where George Washington first stepped forth as the public patron and leader of sedition and revolt; having subscribed fifty pounds for these purposes where others subscribed five, and having accepted the command of the first armed associators against British government, which he had clothed in *his old uniform of the Virginia regiment last war; viz., blue and buff.*"

As Mr. Smyth was speaking of matters falling under his own observation, in reference to which there could be no possible reason for misrepresentation (it being then of no consequence what the dress of Washington and his men was), I think the fact is established, that, in the war of 1756-63, the Virginia regiment was dressed in blue and buff.

I learn, through George W. Randolph, Esq., of Richmond, that no statute or regulation can be found in Virginia, of any date, prescribing the dress of their troops. This is the fact, also, in regard to Massachusetts. The probability is strong, I think, that each Colony, and perhaps each regiment, adopted such uniform as suited their own taste or inclination.

In the portrait of Washington painted in 1772, and now at Arlington, he is *not* represented as in buff and blue, but, as Mr. Custis says in a letter to George Livermore, Esq., "attired

in the Provincial uniform of the Colonial forces of Great Britain." The dress, it would seem, then, had been changed at some time after the war of 1756; and the truth may be, that when Washington, in the spring of 1775, "stepped forth as the public patron and leader of sedition and revolt," he preferred the dress of the olden time to that which more distinctly marked the domination of the British Government. He came to Cambridge in July, 1775; and Thacher, in his "Military Journal," says that he saw him on July 20, and that "his dress was a blue coat, with buff-colored facings, buff under-dress," &c.

The next we hear of this uniform is in New York, where (after the above date), at the instance of Schuyler, an artillery company was formed, "the uniform to be blue and buff;" "which," Mr. John C. Hamilton says, "is supposed to be the first official designation of a uniform in this country." There can be little doubt, I think, that this uniform was adopted because it was Washington's; that Washington adopted it because it was his "old uniform;" and that thus its use became universal, and it was established as the uniform of the army.

There is another circumstance relating to Washington's dress, which has given occasion to a good deal of speculation and discussion.

When Colonel Laurens was captured on his passage to Holland, in 1780, he had with him a portrait of Washington, intended for the stadtholder. The capture was made by Captain Keppel, a nephew of Admiral Lord Keppel; and he presented it to his uncle, the admiral. This portrait is now at Quidenham, Lord Albemarle's seat in Norfolk. The Hon. and Rev. Thomas Keppel, in his "Life of Admiral Keppel," speaks of it, and is very much perplexed by the representation of a *blue ribbon* worn across the breast. As Washington belonged to no order of nobility, and as there was no society existing at that time in America of which this was the badge, he cannot account for its presence.

The admiral's biographer says, "Washington himself is represented as leaning with one hand upon a cannon. He is dressed in a uniform of blue and buff; a broad ribbon of garter-blue is over his right shoulder; and at his feet is a banner, which denotes that the badge was that of the Order of the Cincinnati. . . . Washington is here represented, in the year 1780, as decorated with the badge of the Cincinnati; whereas the order itself is supposed not to have had any existence until nearly four years subsequent to this period, and the badge in which Washington is drawn is said never to have been worn in America."

So a Hessian officer, writing after the surrender of Burgoyne, says, "The brigadiers and generals [of the American Army] are wearing particularly uniforms, and ribbons lying over the waistcoats in the fashion in which ribbons with orders are used."

So a recent writer in the "National Intelligencer" says, "How does it happen that the portrait of Washington, painted by C. W. Peale for Louis XVI., and sent to France, and which is now in the National Gallery of the Patent Office, represents him with a badge of a Marshal of France? It may be that the broad ribbon of this picture indicates no such rank; and, if not, what does it mean?" The ribbon spoken of by this writer is represented as *a blue ribbon, worn across the breast, between the coat and waistcoat.*

All this is explained by reference to the Orderly-book of Major William R. Lee, of the twenty-first regiment, Continental Army (deposited in our library, with his two commissions as Major and Colonel, by his grandson, William Raymond Lee, Esq.), in which the following order is found:—

"July 14, 1775 [twelve days after Washington assumed the command at Cambridge]. *General Orders.*—It is recommended both to officers and men to make themselves acquainted with the persons of all the general officers. And in the mean time, to prevent mis-

takes, the general officers and the aides-de-camp will be distinguished in the following manner: viz., the commander-in-chief, *by a light-blue ribbon, worn across his breast, between his coat and vest*; the major and brigadier generals, by a pink ribbon worn in like manner; the aides-de-camp, by a green ribbon."

It appears by the above extract from the "National Intelligencer," that the old story of Washington's having been a Marshal of France is revived upon the strength of the blue ribbon represented in the portrait at the Patent Office. This is a somewhat slender foundation, as a blue ribbon *is not a badge of a Marshal of France*, and as its presence is otherwise satisfactorily accounted for.

There is no evidence whatever, so far as I can learn, that Washington ever held such an appointment. No doubt, this belief was very generally entertained at one time. In Cary's "American Museum" for 1787, in the list of subscribers, we find, "George Washington, late Commander-in-Chief of the American forces, *Marshal of France*," &c.

A Mr. Lamont dedicated a volume of poems to Washington in 1784, and spoke of him as a *Marshal of France*.

Dr. Sparks says, that "this idea probably originated from the circumstance of his (Washington's) having commanded Count de Rochambeau." — *Sparks's Washington*, vol. ix. p. 89, note.

M. Vaillant, late French Minister at War, says, in answer to an inquiry from Mr. Walsh, that "no trace of a decree conferring on General Washington the dignity of a Marshal of France can be found in the archives of this ministry."

But the whole matter would seem to be disposed of by Washington himself, in a letter written to Mr. Lamont, quoted by Sparks (*ubi supra*); in which he says, under date of Jan. 31, 1785, "It behooves me to correct a mistake in your printed address to the patrons of the fine arts. *I am not a Marshal of France*, nor do I hold any office under that government or any other whatever."

All this is conclusive, unless an appointment was made of which there was no record, and unless Washington is to be suspected of equivocating upon the subject; that is, in saying that he was not a marshal in 1785, although he might have held the appointment at some former time.

The following paper on the early charters of Massachusetts was communicated by Mr. WASHBURN: —

*Transfer of the Colony Charter of 1628 from England to
Massachusetts.*

BY HON. EMORY WASHBURN.

Every one, who has studied the history of Massachusetts, must have remarked the importance which its early settlers attached to the possession of the instrument called the *Charter*, or *Patent*. They seemed to regard its presence as a kind of palladium, securing to them the enjoyment of their civil and religious rights, and without which they had no adequate guaranty of their permanency.

My object, in what I shall offer at this time, will be to show how strong this impression was in the minds of the early colonists; and to trace, as far as I may be able, the grounds upon which it rested.

It will be recollected, that in March, 1627, Sir Henry Roswell and others purchased of the Council of Plymouth the country between three miles north of the Merrimack and three miles south of the Charles Rivers, which gave them a right to the soil, but no powers of government (1 Hutch. 17).

The following March (1628), a royal charter was obtained through the intervention of Lord Dorchester, creating a corporation by the name of "the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England;" and twenty-six persons were named as patentees.

Duplicates of this charter were issued to the company, under the Great Seal; and the same was enrolled in chancery, and thereby made a matter of perpetual and public record.

I have neither space nor time to analyze the provisions of that charter. But no one can read it without being struck with three things: 1st, That a grant should have been made by Charles I., embracing so many elements of free government, if it was intended for any thing more than a trading corporation; 2d, The singular, and, if intended, the adroit, omission of every thing in its terms tending to give it any fixed locality; and, 3d, The meagreness of the powers it confers, if it was contemplated to be the constitution of government of a distinct and distant Colony.

The company organized under it in May, 1628.

In conformity with what had been the ostensible design of the company, Endicott was sent out to commence a plantation at Salem; and arrived there in September, 1628.

On the 17th of April, 1629, they sent to him, by the hands of Mr. Sharpe, one of the duplicates of their charter, as appears by Governor Cradock's letter to Mr. Endicott of that date (Mass. Chron. 142).

In July of that year, twelve gentlemen of "figure and estate," including Mr. Johnson, Mr. Winthrop, and Mr. Dudley, entered into a written agreement at Cambridge to remove to New England, "if the *government and patent* of the plantation *were legally transferred to remain with the emigrants*" (Chron. Mass. 14; Hutch. 19).

This proposition was communicated to the company on the 28th of the same July. "Learned counsel" were thereupon consulted as to the measure (1 Mass. Rec. 52). Besides this, Mr. White, one of the company, was a counsellor-at-law. The point of difficulty was, whether such a transfer could legally be made. What the opinion of counsel was, does not appear: but on the 29th August, at a meeting of the company, the question was discussed: "and it was then, by

erection of hands, fully decreed to be the general mind of the company, and their desire, that the government and the *patent* of the plantation should be transferred to New England, and settled there" (Hubbard, 123, 124). It was not, however, intended that the company should cease to have a local connection with England. They were to continue to manage a portion of its affairs there, as a joint-stock concern, for a while, through the agency of such of its members as did not emigrate. The seat of its government was to be removed to the home of the new Colony. Winthrop was accordingly chosen governor, and, with his company, arrived at Salem in June, 1630, bringing with him the charter, the duplicate having already reached Mr. Endicott.

But, as it is my purpose to speak only of the supposed virtue attached to the custody of the charter, I pass to 1633, when, upon the complaints of Gorges, Mason, and others, to the Privy Council, an order was passed by that body, staying the departure of sundry vessels then ready to sail for New England; "and that Mr. Cradock, a chief adventurer in that plantation, now present before the Board, should be required to cause the *letters-patent* for the said plantations to be brought to this Board."

It could only have been with a view to vacate the charter, or otherwise embarrass the Colony by the loss of its custody, that they thus required it to be brought before them; for, had it been simply to ascertain its terms, it could have been easily done by recurring to the public records in London.

In 1635, more systematic measures were inaugurated for overthrowing the government and charter of the Colony. These consisted of a writ of *quo warranto*, bearing date at Trinity Term, the 11th of Charles I., sued out by Sir John Banks, Attorney-General, from the King's Bench. Among the grounds on which it was alleged that the company had transcended their corporate powers, and violated their corporate obligations, were that the company in Lon-

don and other places, as also in several parts beyond the seas out of the kingdom, without any warrant, had used the liberties, privileges, and franchises therein enumerated, under fourteen specifications, covering most of the public acts which they had done as a corporation. Among these was that they kept one council without right, were resident in New England, and named and chose and swore whom they pleased to that council. For an obvious reason, therefore, the crown-officers seem to have purposely ignored the government in the Colony, and to have caused their writ to be served only upon such of the original assistants as remained in England; and the fact of such a writ having been sued out at all was not known to the governor or assistants of the Colony until after judgment in the action had been rendered.

Fifteen of the persons upon whom the notice had been served appeared in court; among whom was their former governor, Cradock. He entered his appearance, but made no answer; and a default was recorded against him. All the other fourteen denied their having usurped or used, or that they claimed any right to use, any of the liberties or franchises mentioned in the writ; and thereupon an order was passed prohibiting them from intermeddling in future.

Upon the default of Governor Cradock, a judgment was entered convicting him of the usurpation charged, "and that the said liberties should be taken and *seized* into the king's hands; the said Matthew not to interfere with, and be excluded, the use thereof; and the said Matthew to be taken to answer to the king for the said usurpation."

The rest of the company were outlawed, and no formal judgment entered against them.

I have been thus minute in the details of these proceedings, because it shows, that, if they were of any validity, here was such a *seizing of the charter* into the king's hands as would, by the law as now understood, have worked a suspension, at least, of the corporate functions of the body politic (Willock

Corp. 28); and that it is hardly to be conceived that so solemn a farce should have been played by the principal law-officer of the crown before the highest court in the realm, at no inconsiderable expense, if it was not supposed that every thing had thereby been accomplished which could be through the instrumentality of a judgment.

Something else seems to have been considered necessary to accomplish the end they had in view; and that was, to get possession of the charter itself. We accordingly find that the Lords of the Council, in April, 1638, although they were cognizant of the fact that the Attorney-General had sued out the writ of *quo warranto*, as they say, "against the patent," gravely adopted an order, which they communicated through their clerk in a letter to Governor Winthrop, in which, after reciting their former order to Mr. Cradock to cause the "grant or letters-patent for that plantation, alleged by him to be there remaining in the hands of Mr. Winthrop, to be sent over hither," "they strictly require and enjoin the said Winthrop, or any other in whose power or custody the said *letters-patent* are, that they fail not to transmit the said patent hither by the return of the ship in which the order is conveyed to them;" and threatening, "in case of any further neglect or contempt by them showed," to "move his majesty to reassume into his hands the whole plantation."

To this letter the General Court replied in September, 1638, by a humble petition to the "Lords-Commissioners for Foreign Plantations," in which they deny any knowledge of the writ of *quo warranto*; and go on to say, "that, if our patent should now be taken from us, we should be looked upon as *runagates* and outlaws." Other expressions in their petition also indicate their opinion, that, the moment they gave up the possession of their charter, their civil and corporate existence would be at an end.

It is hardly necessary to add, that they did not send back their charter in obedience to this call. In Winthrop's Jour-

nal, the reason is given: "For it was resolved to be best not to send it, because then such of our friends and others in England would conceive it to be surrendered, and that, thereupon, we should be bound to receive such a governor and such orders as should be sent to us; and many bad minds, yea, and some weak ones, among ourselves, would think it lawful, if not necessary, to accept a General Governor" (vol. i. 269).

The Council of New England, it will be recollected, had solemnly surrendered their charter to the crown in 1635, in contemplation of having a General Governor appointed for the whole of New England and a portion of what is now New York and New Jersey, which was to have been divided into twelve Provinces; and the Massachusetts Charter was found to stand essentially in the way of accomplishing this project (1 Hutch. 50, 51). Besides, it should be borne in mind, that, as the law is now understood, it is extremely doubtful whether a municipal corporation can surrender its franchise; while, if it can, it is clear that it can only be done by the assent of a majority of the freemen of such corporation (Willock, 331, 332).

All that is necessary for our present purpose is to ascertain by their action, as well as from other historical facts, what estimate was attached to the possession of the charter, by the attempts of the government, on the one hand, to deprive the company of it, and the perseverance with which they clung to it as for their very existence.

Chalmers, — no willing witness for the Colony, — while he insists that the charter did not erect Massachusetts into a *Province* of the empire, to be governed by the acts of a Provincial Legislature; and that the first General Court, when Cradock was chosen Governor, in May, 1629, was the only legal one ever convened; and that this transfer of their charter was the first instance of a corporate body that ever sold itself (pp. 180, 181); and while he regards the judgment in the *quo*

warranto of 1635 as a seizing of the liberties of Massachusetts into the hands which conferred them, because they had been improperly exercised (p. 161),—admits that Attorney-General Sawyer gave it as his opinion, that they might transfer their charter and act under it in New England, and that the Chief-Justices, Rainsford and North, fell into the same *mistake* (p. 173).

From whatever cause, the government went on under the charter, though against the wishes of the government at home (1 Hutch. 210), who, it would seem, were uncertain what the respective rights and powers of the two were, under the existing circumstances; for we find the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, in 1678, calling upon the law-officers of the crown—Sir William Jones, Attorney-General, and Sir Francis Winnington, Solicitor-General—for an opinion as to the legal effect of the judgment in the *quo warranto* of 1635. And the conclusion to which these officers came was, that neither the *quo warranto* was so brought, nor the judgment thereon so given, as could cause a dissolution of the charter (Chalmers, 440).

The opinion of the General Court upon the subject may be gathered from Hutchinson's account of their measures, at the time Colonel Nichols and the other commissioners visited New England, in 1664, to hear and determine the matters of complaint therein existing. "And apprehending it," says he, "to be of great concernment that the patent, or charter, should be kept safe and *secret*, they ordered the Secretary to bring it into court, and deliver it, together with a duplicate, to four of the court (naming them), who were directed to dispose of them as might be most safe for the country" (1 Hutch. 211).

A new attack upon the chartered rights of the Colony was instigated by Randolph, the evil genius of New England, in 1683. A new writ of *quo warranto* was sent out, which he brought over, and, with it, copies of the proceedings which had been had against the charter of London. The magis-

trates were disposed to yield, and surrender the charter. The deputies refused to concur; and the result was, that, in Trinity Term of 1684, judgment in chancery was rendered against the Governor and Company of Massachusetts, — “that their letters-patent, *and the enrolment thereof*, be cancelled.”

Nothing seems to have been said upon either side as to what should be done with the instrument of the charter, or as to its custody. The subject would seem to have been purposely waived by both parties.

The Colony appears to have been disheartened, partly because so many of the corporations in England, including London, had been compelled to yield; partly from a want of harmony in their own counsels; and probably from a growing apprehension that their charter would not prove adequate to the multiplied interests and relations of business and civil polity of a Colony such as that of Massachusetts was rapidly becoming. At any rate, they yielded; though, as Chalmers says, the validity of these proceedings was questioned “by very great authority.” And the House of Commons, at a subsequent term, resolved that the warrants against the charters of New England were illegal and void (Chalmers, 415).

They still retained the parchment, which seems to have been carefully preserved; and at the time of the Revolution, in 1689, the officers chosen under it in 1686 resumed the government. But it must have been rather a matter of temporary expediency than an exercise of right; and the people saw, with a heavy heart, their good old charter, with its democratic powers and free tendencies, superseded at last and for ever by that of 1691.

The truth probably is, that they saw, that, if they could obtain a reversal of the judgment against their charter for irregularity in the proceedings, they would, almost from necessity, be obliged to transcend its powers, in order to carry on the government, and thereby subject themselves

to a new writ. And it is said, that, upon this ground, Treby, Somers, and Holt — the great lawyers then of England — advised against their adopting any measures to reverse the judgment (Chalmers, 415).

There is nothing, therefore, in the final dissolution of the charter, which leads us to suppose they ever changed their sentiments in respect to the value or importance of the instrument itself, as one of the grounds upon which their rights under it rested. And a recurrence to contemporary history tends to show that the sentiment was a general one, and that it had its origin in the general ignorance and uncertainty which prevailed — as well in the courts as at the bar, and with the people generally — as to what the law upon the subject was.

The charter of Plymouth was taken out by Governor Bradford in his own name. But, in 1640, it was thought best that it should be more directly brought within the control of the General Court; and, as is said in his History, he thereupon “surrendered the said letters-patent actually into the hands and power of the said court” (p. 374). It was done in open court; the charter being delivered into the hands of Nathaniel Souther, who had been authorized to receive it: and it was ordered, that Mr. William Bradford should have the keeping of the said letters-patent; and they were delivered to him in open court (1 Hutch. 468).

In 1685, it was resolved to commence proceedings against the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island; but the latter tamely submitted, and surrendered her charter to the crown. Connecticut withstood the attack to the utmost of her power.

The *quo warranto* against that Colony was issued in July, 1685. Their charter had been granted in 1662; and at the first election under it, in October of that year, three persons had been chosen to *keep that instrument*.

The writ commanded the Governor and Company to appear in eight days. No notice, however, was ever had of

it by these until the 6th July, 1686, — a year after its issuing; nor was it formally served upon them until the 21st of that month, when it was served by Randolph. Another similar writ was issued in December, 1686, and was served upon the Governor. In the mean time, near fifty corporations had been deprived of their charters; and to these were added the charters of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Nothing daunted, however, that Colony adhered to the exercise of their chartered rights: and though Andros — who had arrived on the 20th December, 1686, with a commission as Governor of New England — had written to them on his arrival, that judgment had by that time been entered against their charter, they continued to recognize the power of their former government; and in October, 1687, its officers assembled, as usual, at Hartford.

Andros came to Hartford while they were in session, accompanied by sixty of his troops, and met the Legislature, and demanded their charter. After much debate and hesitation, it was brought, and laid upon the table; when, as is familiarly known, the lights were blown out, and the charter was seized by Captain Wadsworth, and by him secreted in the famous Charter Oak, which, until so lately, stood as a monument to the memory of the actor in that singular scene.

Though Andros was thereby foiled of his attempt to seize the parchment itself, he assumed to regard the government under it as at an end, and appointed civil officers for the Colony; to whom, for the present, the people submitted. But it was altogether an involuntary submission: they still clung to their charter; and upon hearing of the deposition of Andros by the people of Boston and the surrounding country, in April, 1689, they resumed the government which had been thus suspended by violence.

In August of the next year (1690), a question was submitted to Ward, Somers, and Treby, three of the most

eminent lawyers in England,* in respect to the validity of the measure; and their answer was, "that the charter, not being surrendered under the common seal, and *that surrender duly enrolled*, nor any judgment of record entered against it, the same remained good and valid in law;" and that the corporation might proceed to act as if they had not submitted, or a governor had not been appointed.

With this explanation of the law, it is obvious, that, beyond the mere matter of convenience, the custody of the parchment on which the charter was written was of no practical consequence. If needed for purposes of proof, a certified copy from the record was all that was required; and, if carried away by the king's officer, it could not be construed into a surrender of its franchises.

And yet, by the loss of it, not only was it the general apprehension that the franchise would be lost, but that the rights of property which had been acquired under it would also be thereby divested.

Accordingly, when Governor Bradford surrendered the Plymouth Charter to the General Court, he expressly excepted certain parcels of land from the effect of the Act, although the affairs of the Colony had then been going on under that charter for eleven years.

The case of Nottingham, in England, was still more marked. The town-council voted to surrender the charter to the king; "and thereupon," says the reporter, "the mayor, pursuant to said order, did take out of the town-chest the said charter, and surrendered the same accordingly."

But a question soon after arose, whether the inhabitants, by that surrender, had lost the right of common in certain lands which they had theretofore enjoyed, together with

* Somers was made Lord Chancellor in 1697; and Ward and Treby, Lords-Commissioners of the Great Seal in 1700. Treby was afterwards Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas.

the franchise which they had derived through the charter (T. Raym. Rep. 482).

One of the most important cases in England, involving the power of the crown to disfranchise a municipal corporation, was that against the city of London, in the 13th of Charles II., 1683.

The Attorney-General, Finch, afterwards Lord-Chancellor Nottingham, and, after him, Robert Sawyer, appeared for the crown; George Treby, already mentioned, and, after him, Henry Pollexfen, afterwards Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas, for the city.

Edmund Saunders, a learned, and, in some senses, honest but most unscrupulous man, was made Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, in order to secure a judgment for the crown. He lived just long enough to accomplish his mission, and died on the morning of the day on which the judgment was pronounced.

One of the questions discussed in the case was, whether the franchise of such a corporation could be forfeited. The judgment was, that a corporation might be seized, and its charter avoided for things "misdone," or omitted to be done; and that the liberties and privileges and franchises of the city were taken and seized into the hands of the king.

And "thus," as the reporter adds, "was the metropolis of the kingdom deprived of its charter and privileges until 1688; when King James, terrified at the news of the Prince of Orange's intended invasion, thought fit to restore it (Oct. 6), and ordered Lord-Chancellor Jeffries to carry it back himself. Whereupon Sir George Treby was restored to his place of Recorder, and the rest of the magistrates according to the ancient constitution of the city" (3 Harg. State Trials, 628).

The validity of this judgment came directly before the King's Bench in the case of Sir James Smith, who had been an alderman in February, 1688. An Act of William and Mary, passed Aug. 1, 1689, required a certain oath to be

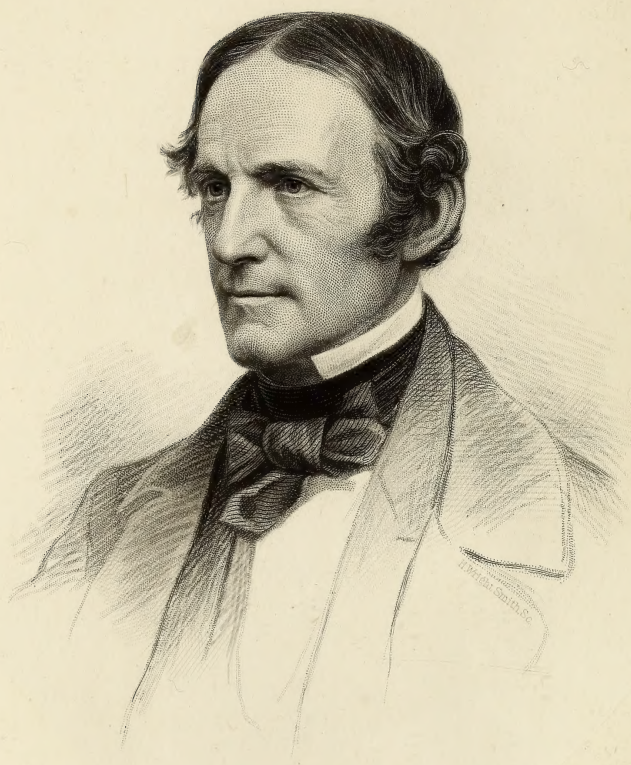
taken by all persons in office at the time of its passage; and, Sir James having failed to comply with the requirement of this statute, the question arose, whether he was, in fact, in office at that time or not. If the charter had been annulled by the judgment upon the *quo warranto*, he had never been elected to such office; and, as there had been an Act passed in 2d of William and Mary *restoring* to the city its ancient privileges, — in which Act the former judgment is recited, and declared to be illegal, — a question arose, whether Sir James ought to be restored to office.

In the argument of the case, it was assumed that the question, whether a corporation could be dissolved, had never been judicially settled; and it was contended, that, if it could, what had been done in the case of London was not such a dissolution. The court held that a corporation might be dissolved, but that a judgment of *seizin* could not be proper in such a case; for, if it was dissolved, to what purpose should it be seized? and that the judgment in this case did not dissolve the corporation.

As a consequence, they held that Sir James was duly elected an alderman, and should have taken the oath accordingly (4 Mod. Rep. 53).

But enough has been quoted from the histories, and books of reports, of that day, to show how very vague and uncertain and varying were the notions of the courts and lawyers and politicians of the time upon the subject of municipal corporations, and the nature of the grants by which they held their franchises. The judgment of one was declared futile by another; and the crown exhausted the power and ingenuity of its highest officers to get possession of a bit of parchment, under the idea that it could thereby annihilate the rights which it had solemnly granted, without the form even of a judicial trial.

No wonder, then, that, in this state of legal science, the Colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut clung so strongly



Wm H. Prescott

to the parchment and sign-manual, and the wax with its impress of the great seal of England; which, to their eyes, seemed like the ark of the covenant of old to the children of Israel, to guaranty to them the rights and individuality of a favored people. And, though it is now nigh two hundred years since it lost its prestige and its charm as a representative of power, no one can, even at this day, study the Charter of Massachusetts Bay in its original, as preserved at the State House, or its duplicate as seen at Salem, without associating with it, as an instrument, the early deeds and fame of the founders of the Colony.

Messrs. Adams, Brigham, and Chandler were appointed a Committee to resist, before the Legislature, any infringement of the Society's corporate name.

The meeting was briefly addressed on various topics by Messrs. Shaw, Ellis, Aspinwall, Bowditch, Deane, Gray, Clifford, N. Appleton, Paige, and Chandler.

SPECIAL MEETING.

The Society held a special meeting at their rooms in Tremont Street, on Tuesday evening, Feb. 1, to express their respect for the character and services of their late eminent associate, WILLIAM HICKLING PRESCOTT, who died in Boston, on Friday, Jan. 28, 1859.

Among other arrangements for the occasion, the beautiful bust of the lamented historian, by Richard S. Greenough, and copies of his various Works, presented to the Society by himself, and placed upon the officers'

table, were touching memorials of the loss which had been sustained.

The meeting was called to order, at half-past seven o'clock, by the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP; who, immediately on taking the chair, addressed the members as follows:—

GENTLEMEN OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,—
You are already but too well aware of the event which has called us together. Our beautiful rooms are lighted this evening for the first time; but the shadow of an afflicting bereavement rests darkly and deeply upon our walls and upon our hearts. We are here to pay a farewell tribute to him whom we were ever most proud to welcome within our cherished circle of associates, but whose sunny smile is now left to us only as we see it yonder, in the cold though faithful outlines of art. We have come to deplore the loss of one who was endeared to us all by so many of the best gifts and graces which adorn our nature, and whose gentle and genial spirit was the charm of every company in which he mingled. We have come especially to manifest our solemn sense, that one of the great Historical Lights of our country and of our age has been withdrawn from us for ever; and to lay upon the closing grave of our departed brother some feeble but grateful acknowledgment of the honor he had reflected upon American literature, and of the renown he had acquired for the name of an American historian.

For indeed, gentlemen, we have come to this commemoration not altogether in tears. We are rather conscious at this moment of an emotion of triumph,—breaking through the sorrow which we cannot so soon shake off,—as we recall the discouragements and infirmities under which he had pressed forward so successfully to so lofty a mark, and as we remember, too, how modestly he wore the wreath which he had so

gallantly won. And we thank God this night, that although he was taken away from us while many more years of happy and useful life might still have been hoped for him, and while unfinished works of the highest interest were still awaiting his daily and devoted labors, he was yet spared until he had completed so many imperishable monuments of his genius, and until he had done enough — enough — at once for his own fame and for the glory of his country. “Satis, satis est, quod vixit, vel ad ætatem vel ad gloriam.”

Nor will we omit to acknowledge it as a merciful dispensation of Providence, that he was taken at last by no lingering disease, and after no protracted decline, but in the very way which those who knew him best were not unaware that he himself both expected and desired. Inheriting a name which had been associated with the noblest patriotism in one generation, and with the highest judicial wisdom in another; and having imparted a fresh lustre to that name, and secured for it a title to an even wider and more enduring remembrance, — he was permitted to approach the close of his sixty-third year in the enjoyment of as much happiness, as much respect, as much affection, as could well accompany any human career.

“Then, with no fiery, throbbing pain,
No cold gradations of decay,
Death broke at once the vital chain,
And freed his soul the nearest way.”

It is not for me, gentlemen, to attempt any delineation of his character, or any description of his writings. There are those among us who have known him longer than myself, and who have established a better title to pass judgment upon his productions. Let me only say, in conclusion, that, immediately on hearing of his sudden death, permission was asked for this Society to pay the last tribute to his remains; but it was decided to be more consonant with his own unostentatious disposition, that all ceremonious obsequies should be omitted. Having followed his hearse yesterday, therefore,

only as friends, we have assembled now as a Society, of which for more than twenty years he was one of the most brilliant ornaments, to give formal expression to those feelings, which, in justice either to him, to ourselves, or to the community of which he was the pride, could not longer be restrained.

It is for you, gentlemen, to propose whatever in your judgment may be appropriate for the occasion.

At the close of the President's remarks, Mr. TICKNOR rose and said: —

MR. PRESIDENT, — You have well told us why we are here at this unwonted hour. We feel the truth of every word you have uttered. The name that shone brighter than any other that was ever set on the rolls of our Society, in its distinctive attribute as a Society for the promotion of historical research, has been stricken from them, so far as such a name can be, by the hand of death. And we come to mourn together for our loss. We do not come to praise the friend and associate whom it has pleased a wise and merciful God to take away from us. His praise is beyond our reach. It extends as far as letters are valued or known. We can neither add to it nor diminish it. We come to mourn together.

I have no words of formal eulogy to offer. In this moment of sorrow, I cannot say what I would. But this I am able to say, — and it becomes the occasion that it should be said, — that to those of us who knew him from the days of his bright boyhood, down to his latest years, when he stood before the world crowned with its honors, the elements that constituted the peculiar charm of his character seemed always to be the same; that his life — his whole life — was to an extraordinary degree a happy one, governed by a prevalent sense of duty to God and love to man; and that he has been taken from us with unimpaired faculties, and with a heart whose affections grew warmer and more tender to the last.

At the end of a life like this, although suddenly terminated, he naturally left few wishes for posthumous fulfilment; and the few that he did leave were of the simplest and most unpretending sort. But one was most characteristic and touching; and, as it has been accomplished, it may fitly be mentioned here. He desired that, after death, his remains might rest for a time in the cherished room where were gathered the intellectual treasures amidst which he had found so much of the happiness of his life. His wish was fulfilled. There he lay, — it was only yesterday, sir, — his manly form neither wasted nor shrunk by disease; the features, which had expressed and inspired so much love, still hardly touched by the effacing fingers of death: there he lay, and the great lettered dead of all ages and climes and countries seemed to look down upon him in their earthly and passionless immortality, and claim that his name should hereafter be imperishably united with theirs. And then, when this his wish had been fulfilled, and he was borne forth from those doors which he had never entered except to give happiness, but which he was never to enter again, — then he was brought into the temple of God, where he had been used to worship, and into a company of the living such as the obsequies of no man of letters have ever before assembled in this land; and there a passionate tribute of tears and mourning was paid to the great benefits he had conferred on the world, and to his true and loving nature, which would have been dearer to his heart than all the intellectual triumphs of his life.

And now that all this is past; now that we have laid him beside the father whom he so truly revered, — whom we all so revered, sir, — and the mother whom he so tenderly loved, and who was loved of all, and especially of all in sorrow and suffering, — now what remains for us to do? It is little, very little. We can express our respect, our admiration, and our love; we can mourn with those who were nearest and dearest to him. These, indeed, constitute our incumbent

duty ; and therefore, sir, I propose to you now, even in this season of our bitter sorrow, to fulfil it, and, as becomes such a moment, to fulfil it in the fewest and the simplest words.

Mr. Ticknor then read the following resolutions : —

Resolved, That, as members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, we look back with gratitude and pride upon the brilliant career of our late associate, WILLIAM HICKLING PRESCOTT, who, not urged by his social position to a life of literary toil, and discouraged by an infirmity which seemed to forbid success, yet chose deliberately, in his youth, the difficult path of historical research, and, by the force of genius, of courage, and of a cheerful patience, achieved for himself, with the full assent of Christendom, an honored place in the company of the great masters of history in all countries and in all ages.

Resolved, That, while we mourn the loss of one who has thus made our country and the world his debtors, we yet, in this moment of our sudden bereavement, grieve rather that we miss the associate and friend whom we loved, as he was loved of all who knew him, for the beauty, the purity, and the transparent sincerity, of his nature ; for his open and warm sympathies ; and for the faithful affections, to which years and the changes of life only added freshness and strength.

Resolved, That we request the President of this Society to transmit these resolutions to the family of our lamented and honored associate, expressing to them the deep sympathy we feel in their affliction, and commending them to the merciful God in whom he trusted, and to the influences of that religion in which he was wont to find consolation under trial and suffering.

In rising to second these resolutions, Mr. SPARKS offered the following remarks : —

MR. PRESIDENT,—An intimate acquaintance with our departed associate for a long term of years, and a friendship and affectionate esteem growing stronger as those years advanced, have produced ties and sympathies which could not be severed without leaving a deep impression on my mind and feelings. The qualities of his heart, of his intellect and character, were such as to win the steady confidence and attachment of all who knew him, as many of us who are here present have known him. But, after what has been so well and so justly said on these topics, I shall forbear to enlarge upon them. I rise, therefore, mainly to express my entire accordance with what has been said, and especially with the resolutions which have been offered.

I will, however, briefly touch upon those traits of his mind which qualified him for the remarkable success he attained as a historian. The highest requisites for a writer in this department of literature are a love of truth, impartiality, a discriminating judgment, and a resolute purpose to procure all the facts that can be found, enabling him to render full justice to his subject. These requisites he possessed in an eminent degree. Read his works through, and you will find the evidence of them impressed upon every page. You will find no extravagant theories, no overwrought descriptions to disguise the faults or foibles of a favorite hero, none of the resorts of the casuist to sustain or defend a doubtful policy; in short, none of those intricate and questionable by-paths of opinion or assertion into which historians are sometimes led by their personal antipathies or partialities. Truth was his first aim, as far as he could detect it in the conflicting records of events; and his next aim was to impress this truth, in its genuine colors, upon the reader. The characters and motives of men were weighed in the scales of justice, as they appeared to him after careful research and mature thought. In all these qualities of an accomplished historian, we may safely challenge for him a comparison with any other writer.

In his unceasing efforts and extraordinary success in procuring the materials for his various historical compositions, he has certainly surpassed all other writers. Previous historians had, to some extent, made similar efforts; but I can say, with entire confidence, after my historical studies, such as they have been, that I know of no historian, in any age or language, whose researches into the materials with which he was to work have been so extensive, thorough, and profound, as those of Mr. Prescott. He was unwearied in his search after original documents, wherever they were to be found; never relying on secondary authorities, when it was possible to obtain those that were original, or more to be depended upon. And it is wonderful with what success these efforts were attended, considering the sources he explored, particularly in Spain, where they had been for a long time, in a great measure, secluded from examination. But his perseverance, and, more than all, the peculiar and undisguised traits of his character, inspiring confidence in those who had this prejudice against allowing those materials to be exposed to the world, seemed to unlock every secret depository, especially after these traits had been so clearly unfolded in his first historical work. His obligations for these signal favors are freely and fully acknowledged in his prefaces; and, in the use he has made of the materials thus acquired, no one has had occasion to regret the implicit reliance that was placed on his discretion, judgment, and integrity. But, in all this, there was no ostentation or parade. He quietly pursued his course, devoting his time and thoughts to the pursuit he had chosen, and glad to gather from every quarter whatever would give more weight, character, and force to the work in which he was engaged, and thus contribute to enlighten the public, and produce the result he desired.

The theme is a broad one, Mr. President; but I will not encroach farther on the time, which may be employed with

more effect by others. I will only repeat my cordial assent to what has been said by the gentlemen who have spoken, and to the sentiments expressed in the resolutions, and second those resolutions.

Dr. WALKER, President of Harvard University, then spoke as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT, — I am the only classmate of Mr. Prescott now present. My recollections of him go back to our college-days, when he stood among us one of the youngest, one of the most joyous and light-hearted, in classic learning one of the most accomplished, without any enemies, with nothing but friends. I remember also the accident — I think it happened in our junior year — which withdrew him from us for some time, and was followed by permanent injury to his sight. Never was there a more instructive lesson on the vanity of human judgments as to what is good or evil in passing events. We all lamented it as a great calamity; yet it helped, at least, to induce that earnestness and concentration of life and pursuit which has won for him a world-wide influence and fame.

Of his subsequent career, there are many here who are better qualified to speak than I am. But I must be permitted to say one thing which was true of him from the first to the last. Of all the men whom I have known, I have never known one so little changed by the conventionalities of society, and the hard trial of success and prosperity. At college, and on the morning of the day he died, he was the same in his dispositions; the same in his outward manners; the same in his habits of thought and feeling; the same, to a remarkable degree, even in his attitudes and looks. It was because his character was a true and real character. He never aspired to become the representative of a new movement or a new idea. He was content to be himself. Hence

it was, as I believe, that he suffered so little from the envies and jealousies and heart-burnings which sometimes find their way even among literary men. He was one of that happy few whom all love to hear praised.

Mr. President, I am oppressed by the occasion and the scene. The shadow of death is upon us; but it is a beautiful and accomplished life which we are called to consider, and it will do us good to ponder it well.

The meeting was then addressed by Hon. JOHN C. GRAY: —

MR. PRESIDENT, — If I have any right to say any thing on this occasion, it is derived from the fact, — to which my excellent friend who moved the resolutions will bear witness, — that few here can have been in closer personal contact with Mr. Prescott than I have been. It was my good fortune, forty years since, to travel with him through the most interesting portion of Europe. We all know, that, with fellow-travellers, acquaintance ripens rapidly. No man can bear better witness to his kind and genial spirit, — a spirit which had always a kind word for those to whom it could afford gratification, and which never had an ill word to utter to, or in respect to, any one. If he had the rare lot of being honored without being envied, — and who had it more? — he reaped no more than he sowed. He was not proud of his own distinction, and still less did he entertain any uncomfortable feelings on account of the distinction of others. His good wishes and assistance were always at the service of those who had need of them.

I must have seen, of course, very much of the characteristics and temper of our friend, in such varieties of incident as happen to all fellow-travellers; some of them trifling in themselves, but not less apt, perhaps, to bring out uncomfortable feeling than more important emergencies which occur less frequently: and I can bear witness to his

genial, kind, and cheerful spirit, — a cheerfulness that was always at the highest point, yet always sustained. I have, of course, had much conversation with him, and heard him speak much of others, — not excepting the unfortunate young man who all but deprived him of sight, — and he never spoke of any one in other than the kindest and most Christian spirit; for, sir, he was a Christian, and in this, as in all other respects, alike free from ostentation and disguise.

I will not detain the Society longer. They will excuse me if I say that I could not suffer this opportunity to pass — the last, perhaps, which I shall have — without offering such open testimony to his character as was prompted by my feelings, and as I was qualified to render by my personal acquaintance, if in no other respect. I will, however, close with the narration of an incident. After Mr. Prescott had finished his first great work, so little was he inspired with a fervid ambition, or any thing like an inordinate desire for distinction, that I am told he said to his late honored father, that he had had the gratification of writing the work, and that he should place it on his shelf, and leave it for those who should come after him. He was dissuaded from so doing, and was encouraged to give it to the world; and, sir, much as we have held in remembrance the services of that honored man, his father, if what he said to his son was the means of bringing that son's works before the public, I think we shall agree that he could have rendered few services of greater moment to the community.

Mr. SPARKS again rose, and, addressing the President, said, —

If you will allow me, sir, I will detain the Society with the mention of an incident connected with the publication of Mr. Prescott's first work, — his "Ferdinand and Isabella," — which the anecdote of Mr. Gray has called to my mind. It is known that Mr. Prescott's eyesight was then so feeble, that

it was difficult for him to read ; and, for the purpose of carefully preparing the composition of his work, he had it printed in large type, in quarto form, so that he could read it, and correct it for the press, instead of revising it in manuscript. After it was finished, he sent me his two volumes, printed as I have described, and requested me to read them. I did so, of course, with very great pleasure and profit, and with no little surprise at the success of the writer, under his infirmity of sight, in accomplishing the work in so thorough and finished a manner. I returned the volumes ; and, soon after, saw Mr. Prescott. He asked me, with a good deal of diffidence, what I thought of the book. I told him there could be but one opinion about it ; that I had read the book with great delight, and thought he had written one of the most successful works of its kind that had come before the public. " But perhaps," said he, " you have read it under the bias of some degree of partiality and friendly feeling." I told him I could not say as to that ; but I had been exceedingly gratified with the perusal of the book. He then asked, " Do you think it should be published ? " — " To be sure," I replied : " have you not written it to be published ? " He still expressed doubts, and enumerated objections. In the first place, the subject was not one likely to interest American readers : it related to Spain, and times long past. In the next place, he doubted very much whether the composition and execution of the work were of such a character as would make it attractive. His opinion was, in short, that it would not succeed. Of course, I used what arguments I could, and told him that no impression of that sort could be entertained by any mind but his own. I left him, however, in that state of uncertainty.

Mr. Gray has explained how he was induced to publish the work at last. The anecdote is characteristic of Mr. Prescott, and illustrates his modesty, and entire freedom from self-estimation.

The meeting was next addressed by the Hon. JOSIAH QUINCY, who was admitted a member of the Society the very year in which Mr. Prescott was born : —

I have been particularly requested, as one who has been a member of this Society for more than sixty years, to make some expression of my feelings on this occasion, in memory of this distinguished citizen and exemplary man ; otherwise I should not have ventured to obtrude them in the presence of so many gentlemen, who, from similarity of age, of pursuits, of taste, of genius, and long, intimate personal familiarity, are so much better qualified than I am to do justice to his singular and rare merits. As an historian, the world has already uttered all that can be said. No tribute can be paid to his worth and his talents, in this respect, which has not been already anticipated and expressed in his lifetime.

His merits were singular, and such as society does not often witness, and to which it has seldom the opportunity to do justice. He was the son of a father who, in purity of life, in elevation of sentiment, in soundness of judgment, had, among his contemporaries, no superior, and was surpassed by few, if any, in talents or legal knowledge. Had his character been of a common type, he would have sunk under the lustre of his parent's virtues, or been content to live in the enjoyment and imitation of them. But, inspired and directed by the same spirit, he saw, that, at the bar and in the senate-chamber, there was no honor to be acquired which his father had not attained ; and, instinctively shunning both, he took a path in which intellectual power was less severely tested, and its rewards far more wide-spread and universal.

It is not requisite here to speak of the success and unqualified renown with which he has crowned and made immortal his memory. His merits were not only singular, but rare. Few men ever rose to such an extent and height

of reputation, without, in look, language, or demeanor, indicating somewhat or somewhere a sense of the honors he had acquired. But William H. Prescott's modesty was as innate and deep-seated as his genius. The delicacy of his temperament shrunk from public notice and praise. To the merits of others, he was just and liberal; concerning his own, reserved or silent.

While cultivating the fields of literature, he practised and exemplified all the virtues, and gave new splendor and a wider sphere to the intellect he had inherited.

His life is a lesson, an incentive and example. Truth, purity, unaffected humility, combined with steady, persevering, wisely directed labor, characterized his whole course.

An accident in early life had nearly quenched his corporeal light. So much more his intellectual light seemed to burn inward, dispersing the veil of corporeal darkness, and revealing to the world a luminary casting a light on past time, in which all future time will rejoice.

The meeting was then addressed by Rev. Dr. FROTHINGHAM, Prof. C. C. FELTON, Hon. JAMES SAVAGE, and GEORGE T. CURTIS, Esq.

REMARKS OF REV. N. L. FROTHINGHAM, D.D.

MR. PRESIDENT, — Before a company where there are so many eloquent tongues, I should not have the presumption to say any thing, should have no apology for saying any thing, of our dear associate, so lately taken away from us, if it were not for the memories that travel back so far as the time when neither of us had reached the full age of manhood, for the companionship that I had the privilege of enjoying with him afterwards, and especially for the sacred relation in which I stood to him for a number of years in the ripest and most distinguished portion of his days. While

he was a student in the University, I was brought into close neighborhood with him, and something like official connection. This was just before that severe calamity befell him; which one is yet hardly justified in calling a calamity, so manfully, so sweetly, so wondrously did he not only endure it, but convert it to the highest purposes of a faithful, scholarly, serviceable life. Before he published the first of those histories which have given him so proud a place in the literature, not only of his own country, but of the British and Continental world, it was my happiness to be engaged with him year after year in examining the students of the College in the modern languages, where his attendance was as freely given as if he had nothing else to do, and as if his eyes were as sound as his intellect, and where his presence was always a delight. After this, in the year 1841, he became a worshipper at the First Church, where a holier bond was formed, and where its minister might learn, from an example more shining than his lessons, the beauty of a reverent, thoughtful, dutiful Christian mind.

These are my claims, Mr. President, to say a few words; and very few are all that it will become me to say, in the midst of so much admiration and sorrow. They shall be words narrowed into one particular direction, — my conception of his private and personal worth; and this not with the slightest thought of an intent to depict his moral portrait, not to undertake to analyze in the least degree the elements of his fine nature, but simply to convey, with a touch or two, my sense of what he was, rather than of what he accomplished. Let others tell of his labors and their splendid success. Let these be set forth in all the terms of eulogy for the instruction and encouragement of youths and men, and as a just tribute to his own fame. As for me, I cannot think of these things now. Pardon me for saying such a word in a company where so many are loyal to Learning as to a sovereign mistress, and so many are

enjoying the bright prizes of society; but, to my thinking, when we have just borne away our dead, literary achievement does not seem so much as it did, and the best-deserved applause has something hollow in its sound. Let me look at our valued associate only in the light of his gentle, cheerful, steadfast, noble disposition. That light came all from within. I am willing to look away at present from the broader but inferior glory.

The man was more than his books. His character was loftier than all his reputation. So simple-minded and so great-minded; so keen in his perceptions, but so kind in his judgments; so resolute, but so unpretending; so considerate of every one, and so tasking of himself; so full of the truest and warmest affections; so merry in his temper, without overleaping a single due bound; such spirit, but such equanimity; so much thoughtfulness, without the least cast of sickliness; doing good as by the instinct of spontaneous activity, and doing labor without a wrinkle or a strain; unswerving in his integrity, and with the nicest sense of honor; whom no disadvantage could dishearten, no prosperity corrupt, no honors and plaudits elate or alter one whit; modest, as if he had never done any thing; retaining through life all the artlessness of the highest wisdom; with a liberal heart and an open hand; the ingenuousness of youth flashing to the last from his frank face; walking in sympathy with his fellows, and humbly before God. Ah! Mr. President, we ought to make some allowance for those who, born with a less genial and upward nature, of a more stubborn material or ruder shape, with fewer of those native endowments and appetences which come direct from the Father of spirits, are unable to perform so much.

I will do no more than repeat a single anecdote, so characteristic of our lamented friend, that, simple as it is, it will bear to be recorded as a representative fact. His mother — and, truly, who was ever descended from a nobler

parentage on both sides than he? — his mother, as she sat with me one day in my study, said, "This is the very room where William was shut up for so many months in utter darkness. In all that trying season, when so much had to be endured, and our hearts were ready to fail us for fear, I never in a single instance groped my way across the apartment to take my place at his side, that he did not salute me with some hearty expression of good cheer, — not in a single instance; as if we were the patients, and it was his place to comfort us." No word of complaint through all that dismal period; no sigh of impatience or regret. He was not content even with the perfect silence of an unrepining will; but he must sing in that imprisonment and night. Is this *not* a representative example? We cannot be surprised at any thing that followed after this. Was not this the man to win crowns of laurel and oak, and to wear them as if they were the natural growth of his hair?

And now that he has been just so long gone that the wound of his loss is fresh, and the grief sore, and yet there has been time for the shock to subside, and reflection to claim its healing office, I think we must feel it to be good for him and us that he was taken away by a noiseless appointment and a swift angel, just as it was, — just as it was; that the second touch of his malady was so absolute: —

"No pale gradations quenched his ray,
No twilight mists."

"Felix, Agricola, non vitæ tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis." He was taken in the midst of his honorable toils, his high faculties, his bright name, his full tides of intellect and love, his troops and armies of admiring regards, on the verge of the grand climacteric of his well-used years. No one will take up and carry on his unfinished tasks. Who can? who need? We can bear that deprivation.

But we do not know how we should have borne the slow crumbling of so rare a mansion; the crippling of so sweet an energy; the clouding over, deeper and deeper, of that clear intellect; the fitful freezing and thawing, stopping and flowing, of the currents of the diviner life. We will hide our eyes from that terrible peril. We will give thanks that he was taken, though snatched, from so dreary an evil. All is well with him now. He is emancipated, and not exposed or bound.

“ These shall swim after death, with their choice deeds
Shining on their white shoulders.”

REMARKS OF PROF. C. C. FELTON.

MR. PRESIDENT, — I thank you for the opportunity you allow me to add my voice to the voices of those who have given utterance here to the universal grief for this late public and private bereavement. Sir, I cannot say one word which will add to the fame of William H. Prescott; but hereafter it will be a consolation to me, through all my life, that I had the privilege of mingling my tears with the tears of those who were nearest to him through the longest period of his life, under these circumstances, in this venerable presence of the living, and the awful presence of the great departed, whose pictured and marble forms and printed works surround us. No one knew Mr. Prescott but to love him. It was not my privilege to know him in his early years; but I have been an acquaintance, I hope I may say a friend, certainly a lover, of his, during the greater portion of my own life; and I think I may say with truth, that no death in this or any other community would touch with affliction more hearts than have been and will be saddened by his death.

Not only those (and there are thousands) who knew him personally, but those who knew him only in the printed page, — those who knew him in those beautiful works, —

seemed to know the loveliness of his character, and to feel for their author all the tenderness of personal affection. It is a saying, that "the style is the man;" and of no great author in the literature of the world is that saying more true than of him whose loss we mourn. For in the transparent simplicity and undimmed beauty and candor of his style were read the endearing qualities of his soul; so that his personal friends are found wherever literature is known, and the love for him is co-extensive with the world of letters,—not limited to those who speak our Anglo-Saxon mother-language, to the literature of which he has contributed such splendid works, but co-extensive with the civilized languages of the human race.

Mr. President, on the 5th of last May,—the day of my embarkation for Europe,—I called at Mr. Prescott's house, knowing how earnest and affectionate would be the inquiries made with regard to him by those friends of his whom I should chance to meet abroad, and anxious to give to them the last best news I could upon the state of his health. And so, indeed, it was. No sooner had I touched my foot upon the English shores, than questions with regard to his condition were addressed to me by numerous English friends; and I happened to meet some of those who had known him best and most affectionately in this country and in Europe. It was a satisfaction to me, that I had it in my power to give them the latest news on a subject which seemed to interest the heart of the whole literary world.

Mr. President, scholars everywhere will feel this bereavement; literary and scientific societies will notice it by commemorative rites. What a cloud will come over that fair and romantic land, whose history and literature he has done so much to adorn! In Germany, where his profound learning and his vast acquirements in the department of history were thoroughly appreciated, and where his name is one of the greatest,—there, too, will his loss be deeply felt. In beau-

tiful and unfortunate Italy, of whose literature he had early felt the charm, and over whose storied sites he had wandered in his youth, the name of Prescott has become a classic name. Ay, sir, more than that. In the lovely land where historical composition had its origin, — in the land of Hellas, redeemed again to freedom, letters, and art, — even there the name of Prescott has become a classic name. Sir, it was only last July that I had the pleasure of looking upon the works of our distinguished countryman, and of his lifelong friend who introduced these resolutions, standing side by side, in the University of Athens, with those of the illustrious native masters.

Sir, this sad news will speed over the earth and sea on the wings of the lightning. With the loveliness of returning spring, the announcement will be heard, even to the shores of Greece, that a great and pure light has been withdrawn from the Western World. It will come upon the festive rites of that most ancient Oriental church, that has survived so many ages of woe; and, under the matchless glories of the sky of Attica, a sense of bereavement and a wail of sorrow will mingle with the festivities and Christian welcomes of that joyous season. Be assured, sir, that, before the summer comes, eloquent eulogies upon the character and works of our departed countryman will be pronounced before crowded audiences of Hellenic youth, in the language of Thucydides and Xenophon, in that same illustrious Athens where those great ancients lived whose renown has made her name immortal.

Sir, this death of Mr. Prescott, which has fallen with such appalling suddenness upon us, struck me in a peculiar manner. It so happened, that, owing to a multiplicity of occupations since my return from Europe, I had not seen my friend, as I will venture to call him: and last Saturday, having a leisure day, I said to myself, "I will go early to town; and the first thing I do shall be to call on Mr. Prescott, and tell him something of what his friends abroad have said to me."

Passing from my own house to the railroad, I stepped over to the Post Office, and took my morning papers; and, on opening one of them, the first words that struck my astonished eyes were those announcing the death of William Hickling Prescott!

Sir, I deplore, and shall deplore to my dying day, that I have not seen and conversed with Mr. Prescott for some months past; that, after parting with him in May, I met him only at the gate of the tomb to say a last farewell: but I shall console myself with the thought, that I have had the opportunity of adding my feeble voice to the earnest and eloquent testimonials to his great name and his lovely character on this occasion. One of those great writers and teachers of the historic art to whom I have alluded—Thucydides—speaks of “that simplicity in which nobleness of nature most largely shares,” as the highest style of man; and surely to no man, before or since the days of the profound historian of the Peloponnesian war, do those words apply with more pertinency and force than to the character of Prescott. And, as he lived, so he died.

Great as the shock was, sad as this bereavement is, bitter as are our feelings in the first moments of our loss, we must all acknowledge that he accomplished a noble and brilliant life; and, though he left works unfinished, whenever that great summons came, it would find him so employed, that works would still be left unfinished. For, Mr. President, it is not the lot of man to finish his tasks here below: that can only be done in the world above. But, sir, as my reverend friend has said, he was called away in the midst of happiness, as if by an angelic messenger. The summons came in a moment. It found him enjoying the light of the domestic hearth; and, in an instant, his spirit was translated into the light of Eternal Love. That, Mr. President, was the euthanasia of our friend and associate.

REMARKS OF HON. JAMES SAVAGE.

MR. PRESIDENT, — Enough has been said here, by those who enjoyed the acquaintance of Mr. Prescott, to afford to others a just estimate of his character; for few could have acquaintance with him that was not an intimate one. He was transparent in such uncommon degree, that, in a short time, whoever was acquainted with him might become conversant with his character. Sir, it does not always happen, — but I thank Heaven the instances are not rare, — in which from a glorious father is derived a son with strong resemblance. Here have been three generations of this stock claiming highest regard from the people of Massachusetts, and for very diverse qualities. He who commanded on Bunker Hill is known only, but universally, for his intrepidity. Brave to a degree beyond what belongs to the general spirit of soldiery, having labored all night in throwing up the works on that commanding spot; entitled, as his commander thought, to defend them through the day, — yet was he not a braver man than his son William, distinguished for widely different public service. The stainless honor of Judge Prescott needed not to be shown in deadly combat; but whoever weighed his merit felt that he would have sustained at every hazard, even of instant death, the calm assertion of duty in vindication of the rights of his fellow-men.

After the full and appropriate estimate of the private virtues and literary reputation, the endowments and acquisitions, of our late associate, I would ask, confidently, for a review of his characteristic and hereditary distinction, — of unusual bravery in his pursuits. What is the first requisite the Muse of History demands of her admirers? The truth, in every respect; the truth, in spite of all opposition; the truth with mildness, and with the affection and dignity that accompanied every word that Mr. Prescott ever said on paper or in the

utterance of speech. Sir, he, more than any other man, I think, of my acquaintance,—and I refer to the delightful illustrations of his classmate, and to the more delightful remarks which came from his religious instructor; I refer to what is known by his most intimate friends,—he was a man who could stand up before the universe, and challenge any aspersion. There never was a man who spoke ill of him. He eminently is exposed to the woe that, it is said, belongs to him “of whom all men speak well.”

Mr. President, I ought not to have said half as much as I have; and yet, though it is late, I did not dare to sit still any longer, for fear that a sufficiently impressive intonation should not be given to the highest merit of that man's character. It is not his distinction attained in letters. It is not that the world round, where the English language is read, and the various languages into which his works have been translated,—the French, the German, the Spanish, and the Italian,—there is not remaining on this earth a man of higher literary merit; I will not say, distinction. There may be one or another superior by metaphysical acquisition, by mathematical endowments, or diffusing good throughout the world; but my departed friend never knew the temptation of adopting an equivocal expression, or even the metaphysical refinement that conceals one. No man could ever charge him with it. He was solely seeking for Truth in the best recesses where Truth is found; and he has done more than any other living man to bring her forth in her full majesty. Greater difficulties no writer encountered, and none ever triumphed over them more fully. I would, sir, refer more particularly to what was so admirably touched upon by his classmate and by his religious instructor; and I have looked also for many years upon the very same,—happiness I call it; and happiness it will be, when we think of it,—upon his happiness while suffering from what is commonly called an accident,—a casualty we will call it (but if there be a Providence in any

thing, not to govern nations, not to regulate this sidereal system only, but applying to each individual, then that misfortune, as it seems, was the greatest good); upon his happiness, when he was submitted to that awful darkness to which no ray of light was permitted. His father and his mother and his sister may well have hoped that it should be well with William, even under such a disaster. But he himself, for now near thirty years, has manifested to all the world the blessing which our great religious poet has illustrated for his own case, in the prayer, —

“So much the rather thou, Celestial Light!
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate.”

REMARKS OF MR. GEORGE T. CURTIS.

MR. PRESIDENT, — Standing less near, in age and in association, to him whom this whole community now mourns, than those who have addressed you, I yet desire to lay an humble tribute of admiration upon his tomb; feeling how true it is, that we have now lost one, who, in the language of these resolutions, will be admitted everywhere to be entitled to the name and the rank of a great historian; and who, in his relation to us, added to this title that of a near and dear friend.

I have said, sir, that we have now lost him. I should correct that expression. We have, indeed, lost the daily greeting, the friendly grasp, the genial smile, — all that was the earthly presence of this illustrious writer and beloved friend. All unfinished, too, — as when some great sculptor is stricken down with the chisel in his hand, — lies the last of those splendid monuments which his genius led him to undertake for the delight and instruction of mankind. Yet how much remains! That reputation, co-extensive with Christendom, which has brought so much honor upon our country, upon our city, and upon us; that example of victory over personal

infirmities, and of victory over the allurements of a social position exempt from the necessity of toil, — an example which has carried, and is yet to carry, consolation and encouragement to the struggling scholar in all lands, — which appeals, and is yet to appeal, so powerfully to the wealthy youth of our own country; that beautiful character, which has caused a whole community to feel as if touched by a personal loss, and to pour their tears upon his grave as for one who was their own; those works, which are to exist so long as any vestiges of our civilization remain, side by side with the imperishable writings of the chief historians of all ages, — these are *not* lost, because they are of the fruits, for the production of which our immortal nature was placed in this mortal sphere.

Mr. President, if I had felt that it was the sole purpose of these proceedings to express the grief of personal affection, I should not have ventured to address you; for, although I have for many years been honored by the personal regard of the late Mr. Prescott, what belongs to the duties of friendship has come, and will doubtless again come, from others. But to me, sir, an humble amateur in that noble art in which our lamented friend was so distinguished, this occasion has — I would not say a higher; for what can be higher or holier than the last rites of love? — to me this occasion has a further interest. It seems to me to call, not for vindication, not for defence, not for challenge; but for the briefest and most simple statement of the value and dignity of the labors of our deceased friend, as they are expressed in the first of the resolutions on your table.

The pursuit to which Mr. Prescott devoted his life is universally felt, among the cultivated part of mankind, to be one of the highest forms of intellectual labor; yet it is probable that even educated men do not always fully appreciate the qualities, the powers, and the tasks of a truly great historian. The general public can, of course, only take the finished work

of art as it comes, all compact in its exceeding beauty and fitness, from the hands of the great master, and admire and learn, and be grateful. Of that research, which must leave no fact, however minute, untried; of that judicial temper, which must yield to no prejudice; of that large and catholic sympathy with human progress, without which there can be no permanent success; of that courage which declares the truth, though it be unwelcome; of that power to weigh events, to detect causes, to make the wide deductions on which the judgment of the future is to rest for its opinions of the past; and of that final process which fixes for ever, in a work of high art, the teachings of Providence, as displayed in the moral world,—of all these great requirements and these varied accomplishments we see little, or think little, as we pass, delighted and improved, over the printed page.

Such a master of his art was he whom we mourn. The subjects which he chose for the exercise of his noble powers were in those departments of history, in which the lives of princes, the intrigues of courts, the characters and actions of individuals, and the movements of armies, necessarily occupy a very prominent place. This is no time, nor is this the occasion, nor is he who now speaks of him the person, to show how successfully his works refute that theory, which we sometimes hear uttered as a complaint, that in history, as it has hitherto been written, man is neglected, and governments are made all in all. I am sure, that, when the ultimate judgment of his contemporaries or of posterity shall be pronounced, the works of Prescott will not lose their place in the estimation of the world through the operation of any sound canon of criticism that may now exist, or that may be called into existence hereafter. I found this expectation upon two positions,—first, that it is in the order of Providence, that the characters, the acts, and lives of individuals shall have a vast influence on the welfare, the condition, and the progress of society; and, secondly, that this great writer

has perceived, with as clear a vision and as just a discrimination as have been given to the foremost masters in this difficult art, how to unite the exhibition of that influence with the display of those general causes and those uniform laws which control even the despotism of princes, and subject the arbitrary will of man to the overruling purposes of God.

But let me turn, sir, from these anticipations of the future, to dwell for a moment upon that present fame which he enjoyed in such a bountiful harvest. It is now nearly nine years, since, on a visit abroad, I met Mr. Prescott in London, and witnessed that remarkable ovation which he there received. I suppose that such a reception has not been accorded in modern England to any other merely literary and private man of any country. I attributed it at the time, in part, to the fact that he was an American, and that he had written in the language which is their and our common inheritance. Partly also, no doubt, it was due to the charm of his manners and conversation, and to the frank and genial facility with which he could adapt himself to all companies. The peculiar sympathy and admiration, too, which were excited by the extraordinary difficulties under which his works had been produced, quickened the interest that was taken in the author.

But I could not fail to be struck with the character and extent of his reputation, for which none of these things would account. I was there before him; and, when his purpose to make this visit was known, it is no exaggeration to say, that, in all ranks and all forms of society in which intelligent men and women were found, there was evident a sensation of anticipated pleasure, a delighted expectation of curiosity and interest, which no countryman of his could witness without pride. What followed after his arrival, you all know. Public and private honors, the homage of the head and the homage of the heart, were showered upon him by all ranks. What followed on his return to that home and that

society which he loved above all human associations, you know equally well.

Neither the flatteries of the great, the fascinations of that brilliant society in which he was an honored guest, nor any single circumstance of his personal success, changed the simplicity of his character, or imparted to it one tinge of arrogance. My opportunities to observe the complexion of his feelings were ample; for I returned in the same ship with him, and had with him many hours of the freest intercourse during every day of the voyage: and I declare here this night, as a testimony due to the manliness, the sweetness, and the nobleness of his nature, that I have never seen the man on whom great fame and extraordinary social success had a less disturbing effect than they had on him. That he had a solid and just satisfaction in all that was manifested towards him, I could perceive; but, if we would estimate him rightly, we must remember that few men could have passed through those scenes without bringing away more traces of that which intoxicates, than of that which strengthens and enlarges, the soul. He brought nothing which our most jealous love could have wished him to escape. On the day when we landed, and he returned into the bosom of his family, into the quiet seclusion of his library, and his accustomed walk of life, he was the same man as when he went forth to meet the delighted homage of Europe. Place, oh! place *this* token of him before the eyes of all our countrymen.

He is gone! If it had pleased Almighty God to have permitted us one word of farewell, we should doubtless have heard him call to us, as we can now only hail his departed spirit,—

“ Say not, ‘ Good-night!’ ”

But, in another clime, bid me ‘ Good-morning!’ ”

The resolutions which had been offered by Mr. Ticknor were then unanimously adopted; the members rising when the question was taken.

The President then said : —

GENTLEMEN, — We are deprived this evening of the presence of more than one of those whom we are always delighted to have with us. My friend Mr. Everett is absent from home, and will not return for ten or twelve days. I know he will deeply regret having lost the opportunity of uniting in this commemoration of one of his most cherished friends.

I have the following notes before me, — the first being from our worthy and respected Vice-President, the Hon. David Sears : —

BEACON STREET, Feb. 1, 1859.

MY DEAR MR. WINTHROP, — I regret that a severe cold confines me to my room, and will prevent my assisting at the meeting of the Historical Society called for this evening to pay a last tribute of respect to our excellent friend and associate, William H. Prescott.

I was not able to attend his funeral yesterday, and I am not able to attend our meeting to-day. I feel the deprivation sensibly ; and, in spite of my judgment, it is accompanied by a sort of consciousness, that I am not doing for him what I am sure he would readily have done for me.

My acquaintance with Mr. Prescott dates back nearly half a century ; for, even in his boyhood, he was often the bearer of important papers between his father and myself.

His literary fame is spread through the civilized world ; but his endearing social qualities are known only to those who enjoyed his intimacy. The world will lament the historian and the scholar : his associates alone can estimate the companion and the man. But both will readily class him in the highest rank as scholar, gentleman, and friend.

Very faithfully yours,

DAVID SEARS.

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,
President Mass. Historical Society.

BOSTON, Feb. 1, 1859.

DEAR SIR, — I regret extremely that the state of my health will not allow me to attend the special meeting to-night, to be held in "respect to the memory of our late distinguished associate," Mr. Prescott.

I should regret still more to be thought insensible to his great fame and merit, or to doubt his title to any tribute which the Society, this city, and the world of letters, may unite to bestow upon him.

Please to consider me as personally with you, and warmly approving of all you shall do or say in memory of him.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

RUFUS CHOATE.

Rev. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D.,

Recording Secretary of the Historical Society.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

The Society held their stated monthly meeting on Thursday, Feb. 10, at noon, at their rooms in Tremont Street, Boston; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian being absent, the Recording Secretary announced donations from the American Baptist Missionary Union; the American Unitarian Association; the Boston Provident Association; the County Commissioners of Barnstable County; the Back-Bay Commissioners; C. C. Henshaw, Esq.; T. J. Herring, Esq.; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; J. H. Hammond; L. A. H. Latour; Mrs. J. F. Baldwin; T. C. Amory, Esq.; Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan; T. B. Lawrence, Esq.; George H. Kuhn, Esq.; N. P. Kemp, Esq.; Samuel A. Green,

M.D.; F. A. Benson, Esq.; Rev. J. P. Robinson; William Durrant Cooper, Esq.; and from Messrs. Bartlett, Lamson, Robbins, Shurtleff, Sibley, Whitney, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from Hon. Levi Lincoln, as a Resident Member.

Hon. GEORGE T. BIGELOW and Hon. CALEB CUSHING were elected Resident Members; Hon. J. J. CRITTENDEN, of Kentucky, an Honorary, and BENJAMIN R. WINTHROP, Esq., of New York, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. QUINCY presented a copy of the "Memoir of Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, prepared by himself at the request of his children," on a blank leaf of which Mr. Quincy had inscribed a few reminiscences of the author, and a cordial tribute to his character, in the following terms; viz., —

With Colonel Tallmadge it was my privilege, fifty years ago, to be on terms of great intimacy. In 1808 and 1809, being both members of Congress, we resided in the same hotel, in adjoining rooms, and often passed together long winter evenings. I availed myself of these opportunities to draw from him anecdotes of the war of the Revolution, and heard him relate almost all those incidents mentioned in this memoir, with many additional circumstances, which, from his great modesty, are here omitted. The frontispiece to this memoir, I doubt not, was an excellent likeness at the period when it was drawn. At the age of fifty-two, his tall and commanding figure and noble bearing, united with polished and courteous manners, and a kindness of heart which won universal confidence, rendered him one of the most interesting men I ever knew.

He was one of the most active partisans of the army, and received peculiar marks of confidence from its Commander-in-chief, whose personal superintendence of the details of secret expeditions is one of the impressive results of this memoir.

JOSIAH QUINCY.

10th February, 1859.

Mr. ADAMS, from the Committee appointed to resist before the Legislature any infringement of the corporate name of the Society, made a verbal report, which was accepted. Whereupon, the following vote was unanimously passed; viz., —

Voted, That this Society approve and ratify the doings of their Committee, as reported by Mr. Adams; and, commending the spirit in which they have met the Committee of the Historic-Genealogical Society, request them to continue in office, with full power to make any arrangement which may settle the point in controversy, and tend to a desirable harmony between the two Societies.

Mr. EVERETT, expressing regret at his inability to join the Society in the last tribute of respect to the memory of Mr. Prescott, paid by them on the 1st instant, asked permission to add a few words, that, as a friend of more than forty years' standing, he might not seem wanting on an occasion of such affecting interest.

MR. PRESIDENT, — At the special meeting of the Society, held on the 1st instant, to take becoming notice of the death of our honored and lamented associate, Mr. Prescott, you kindly apologized, with your usual thoughtfulness, for my necessary absence. I was in the State of New Jersey that

day, under a public engagement; and it was only by the aid of the telegraph that I received the notice of the meeting. You will readily believe that I regretted most deeply my inability to join you in the last tribute of respect to the memory of our friend, paid with so much feeling and pathetic eloquence, on behalf of the Massachusetts Historical Society, by our worthy associates who took part in that day's proceedings. If I now ask permission to add a few words to what was so appropriately and touchingly said by them, it is not that the departed needs my poor testimony; not that the Society needs my aid in doing honor to his beloved name; but that I myself, the friend of more than forty years' standing, may not seem wanting on an occasion of such affecting interest.

Being about to leave home on Monday, the 24th of January, on a visit to Philadelphia, and taking my accustomed walk in the middle of the day on the Saturday preceding, I met our late lamented and beloved associate. He seemed to me as well as at any time the past twelvemonth; but my son, who was with me, thought his countenance somewhat changed. On the following Friday, the telegraph transmitted the news of his death to Philadelphia; where, I think I can truly say, it was mourned as deeply and sincerely as anywhere in Boston, out of the circle of immediate relatives and friends. They felt his death as a loss, not of any one place, but of the whole country. And this feeling I found universally prevalent in a somewhat extensive circuit since made in New Jersey; in New York, where a most distinguished brother historian (Mr. Bancroft) gave utterance, in language the most appropriate and impressive, to the unaffected sorrow of the community; and in the neighboring city of Brooklyn, which I have since visited. Everywhere, Mr. President, those tributes of respect and affection which have been paid to our dear friend by his neighbors, associates, and immediate fellow-citizens, have found a ready response throughout the country, as they will throughout the civilized world.

I can add nothing to what has been already said in the general contemplation of his eminence as an author, his worth as a man, his geniality as a companion, his fidelity as a friend; his severe trials, his heroic exertions, his glorious success. But I have thought it might be in my power to say a few words, not unacceptably, of the rapidity and the extent to which his reputation was established abroad, and the prompt and generous recognition of his ability in Europe. The "History of Ferdinand and Isabella" was published at the close of 1837 or the beginning of 1838; and, on my arrival in Europe in the summer of 1840, I found it extensively known and duly appreciated. Mr. Prescott, following down the stream of Spanish history, had already conceived the project of writing, at some future period, the history of Philip II., after he should have narrated, in works to be prepared in the interval, the magnificent episodes of the "Conquest of Mexico and Peru." I remonstrated with him for passing over the reign of the Emperor Charles V.; urging upon him, that the materials which had become accessible since Robertson's time, especially the archives of Simancas (the want of access to which was so much deplored by that author), would enable him to treat that period to as good advantage as that of Ferdinand and Isabella, or Philip. But he modestly persisted in thinking that the reign of Charles V. was exhausted by Robertson. The supplementary chapter with which he has enriched the edition of Robertson's work, published under his supervision a few years since, is a sufficient proof that it would have been in his power to construct an original history of the reign of Charles V., which would have fully equalled in interest any that has been produced by him.

He requested me to make some preliminary inquiries at Paris in reference to materials for Philip II.; especially to obtain information as to the portion of the archives of Simancas which had been carried in the time of Napoleon to Paris,

and were still detained there. No difficulty attended a thorough exploration of the rich materials in the royal library; but the papers from Simancas were guarded with greater care in the "Archives of the Kingdom." The whole of that celebrated national collection had been transported to Paris in the time of Napoleon; and after his downfall, and in the general restoration, those portions of the archives which purported to relate to the history of France were, in spite of the urgent and oft-repeated reclamations of the Spanish Government, retained in Paris. It was natural, under these circumstances, that they should be watched with some jealousy: but the name of Mr. Prescott was a key which unlocked the depository; and by the kindness of M. Mignet, who had himself examined them with diligence, they were fully thrown open to my inspection on his behalf.

The same result followed a similar application at Florence the following year. Not only were the private collections of the Marquis Gino Capponi and the Count Guicciardini (the lineal descendant of the historian) thrown open to the use of Mr. Prescott, but, after tedious hesitations and delays on the part of subordinate officials, a peremptory order was at length issued by Prince Corsini, with the consent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, that I should be allowed to explore the Medicean Archives (*Archivio Mediceo*), and mark for transcription whatever I thought would be useful for Mr. Prescott. When I add that this magnificent collection of eighty thousand volumes (since greatly augmented, as I learn from my friend Mr. Ticknor, by bringing together all the provincial archives of every part of the Grand Duchy), the examination of which was rendered easy by a copious index, contained the correspondence of the Tuscan minister at Madrid, during the entire reign of Philip II., it will be readily conceived how rich were the materials for the history of that period. Nothing that I marked for transcription was refused. It was sufficient that

I thought it would be useful to Mr. Prescott; and among the portions of the correspondence which I was able in this way to procure for him were the semi-weekly communications of the Tuscan minister on the arrest, imprisonment, and death of Don Carlos. That papers so delicate — guarded with such jealousy for three centuries — should have been fully thrown open by a Catholic sovereign to an American Protestant writer, bears witness at once to the liberality of the Grand Duke, and the European reputation of our lamented friend.

Nor was his fame less promptly and substantially established in England. Calling one day on the venerable Mr. Thomas Grenville, whom I found in his library (the second in size and value of the private libraries of England), reading Xenophon's "Anabasis" in the original, I made some passing remark on the beauty of that work. "Here," said he, holding up a volume of "Ferdinand and Isabella," "is one far superior." With the exception of the Nestor of our literature (Mr. Irving), no American writer appeared to me so widely known or so highly esteemed in England as Mr. Prescott; and, when he visited that country a few years later, the honors paid to him by all the cultivated classes of society, from the throne downward, were such as are seldom offered to the most distinguished visitant.

This is not the time nor the place for a critical disquisition on the merits of our lamented associate as a writer of history; nor am I prepared — arrived but last evening from an arduous journey, filled up with engagements which have left me no moment of leisure — to undertake the task. It would, moreover, be a work of supererogation. The public mind has passed judgment on his merits, in a manner to need no confirmation and to fear no contradiction. When, in after-times, the history of our American literature shall be written, it will be told with admiration, how, in the front rank of a school of contemporary historical writers flourishing in the United States in the second quarter of the nineteenth century,

more numerous and not less distinguished than those of any other country, a young man, who was not only born to affluence and exposed to all its seductions, but who seemed forced into inaction by the cruel accident of his youth, devoted himself to that branch of literary effort which seems most to require the eyesight of the student, and composed a series of historical works not less remarkable for their minute and accurate learning, than their beauty of style, calm philosophy, acute delineation of character, and sound good sense. No name more brilliant than his will descend to posterity on the roll of American authors.

But it will not be in this Association alone that he will be honored in after-times. So long as in ages far distant, and not only in countries now refined and polished, but in those not yet brought into the domain of civilization, the remarkable epoch which he has described shall attract the attention of men; so long as the consolidation of the Spanish monarchy and the expulsion of the Moors, the mighty theme of the discovery of America, the sorrowful glories of Columbus, the mail-clad forms of Cortez and Pizarro and the other grim *conquistadores*, trampling new-found empires under the hoofs of their cavalry, shall be subjects of literary interest; so long as the blood shall curdle at the cruelties of Alva, and the fierce struggles of the Moslem in the East,—so long will the writings of our friend be read. With respect to some of them, time, in all human probability, will add nothing to his materials. It was said the other day by our respected associate, President Sparks (a competent authority), that no historian, ancient or modern, exceeded Mr. Prescott in the depth and accuracy of his researches. He has driven his artesian criticism through wretched modern compilations, and the trashy exaggerations of intervening commentators, down to the original contemporary witnesses; and the sparkling waters of truth have gushed up from the living rock. In the details of his narrative, farther light may be

obtained from sources not yet accessible. The first letter of Cortez may be brought to light; the hieroglyphics of Palenque may be deciphered: but the history of the Spanish Empire, during the period for which he has treated it, will be read by posterity for general information, not in the ancient Spanish authors, not in black-letter chronicles, but in the volumes of Prescott.

Finally, sir, among the masters of historical writing — the few great names of ancient and modern renown in this department — our lamented friend and associate has passed to a place among the most honored and distinguished. Whenever this branch of polite literature shall be treated of by some future Bacon, and the names of those shall be repeated who have possessed in the highest degree that rare skill by which the traces of a great plan in the fortunes of mankind are explored, and the living body of a nation is dissected by the keen edge of truth, and guilty kings and guilty races summoned to the bar of justice, and the footsteps of God pointed out along the pathways of time, his name will be mentioned with the immortal trios of Greece and of Rome, and the few who in the modern languages stand out the rivals of their fame.

No one can speak of our dear departed friend without recollecting the infirmity under which he labored the greater part of his days, and with which Providence, in his case, applied the solemn law of compensation, by which the blessings of life are enjoyed, and endowments balanced by sorrows. To some it is given to ascend the heights of fame through the narrow and cheerless path of penury. Others toil patiently on beneath a load of domestic care and bereavement, — the loss of the dutiful, the hopeful, and the beloved. For him that dares to intrude on public life (as our friend never did), ferocious detraction stands ready to fly at his throat, and petty malice to yelp at his heels. Our friend achieved the miracle of his unexampled success under the privation — at

times the total privation — of the dearest of the senses, — that through which the spirit of man is wedded to the lovely forms of the visible universe. At intervals, for some years before he commenced his historical labors, for him, as for the kindred genius by whose example he tells us he took courage, —

“Seasons returned; but not for him returned
Day, or the sweet approach of even or morn,
Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine.”

But he went from his darkened chamber and his couch of pain to his noble work, as a strong man rejoicing to run a race. A kind Providence at intervals raised the veil from his eyes, and his sweet resignation and heroic fortitude turned his trials into a blessing. His impaired sight gave him concentrated mental vision: and so he lived his great day, illustrious without an enemy, successful without an envier; wrought out his four historical epics to the admiration of the age; and passed away at the grand climacteric, not of years alone, but of love and fame.

“Τὸν πέρι Μοῦσ’ ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ’ ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε·
Ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ’ ἠδεῖαν ἰουδῆν.”

SPECIAL MEETING.

A special meeting of the Society was held this evening (Thursday, the 24th of February), at the residence of Hon. Edward Everett.

In opening the meeting at half-past seven o'clock, the President remarked, that the evening had been selected

without reference to any particular date, but rather to conform to the convenience of the distinguished host of the occasion (Mr. Everett), who had found a leisure moment, amid his engrossing avocations, to invite the Society to visit him in his noble library. It had, indeed, been contemplated, at one time, to hold the meeting on the evening of Washington's Birthday; but the officers of the Society were unwilling to deprive themselves or others of the opportunity of attending the interesting celebration of that anniversary by the Mercantile-Library Association. We were still near enough to that anniversary, however, to render any remarks or communications in relation to it entirely appropriate and acceptable.

Before calling upon others, Mr. WINTHROP said it might be expected of him to allude, in a few words, to one or two events of recent occurrence within the circle of our Resident or Honorary Membership. He regretted to remind the Society that another vacancy had been created on the resident list by the death of Mr. Edward A. Crowninshield, one of their most recently elected associates. His valuable collection of books and papers connected with American history has long been known to us; and it was confidently hoped, on his late return from Europe, that his health was sufficiently re-established to allow him to co-operate with us, for some years to come, in promoting the objects of our Society. But an insidious disease had suddenly terminated his career; and we had only the melancholy duty of adding his name to the list of those who had been too early lost to our Association and the community.

In turning to a different department of our roll to affix the significant asterisk to the name of one of our most distinguished foreign Honorary Members, we could have no such regrets for a life cut short, or for any failure in the fulfilment of the largest hopes and expectations. Mr. HENRY HALLAM, the tidings of whose death, on the 22d of January last, had reached us a few days since, had passed the full term of fourscore years, and had left abundant and illustrious memorials of a life-long devotion to historical labors.

The President said he would gladly offer the most cordial tribute of respect to the memory of this admirable historian, whose personal kindness he had the privilege of partaking many years since in London, and to whom we were all indebted for the noblest and justest exposition of the gradual development of those great institutions and principles which lie at the basis of American as well as of English liberty and law. But such a tribute would be more worthily paid by others.

He would only add, that the coincidence of two such deaths as those of Hallam and Prescott, within a single week of the same month of the same year, on different sides of the Atlantic, could not fail to mark an era in the annals of historical literature; and that Old England and New England — the mother and the daughter — might not unnaturally be found interchanging sympathies on the almost simultaneous loss of those who have been so honored as historians, and so esteemed and beloved as men.

Mr. EVERETT, asking the indulgence of the Society for a few moments, that he might pay an unstudied

tribute to the memory of one whom he might venture to call his friend, spoke as follows:—

I am very glad, sir, that you have called the attention of the Society to the loss they have met, in the death of their honored associate, Mr. Hallam. I am aware that it is not the practice of the scientific and literary bodies in England to take a contemporary notice of the decease of their foreign members. It is the custom, however, at the close of the year, for the president of those societies to deliver an address, of which an obituary notice of the members, both resident and foreign, who have deceased in the course of the year, forms an important part. I should be pleased to see that custom introduced here; certainly while the chair of our Society is filled as it now is: and in the mean time, as there is otherwise no opportunity of doing it, I fully concur with you in the propriety of taking a respectful notice of the decease of our distinguished honorary associate just mentioned. I feel that it must be the spontaneous will of every member of the Society to pause for a moment upon an event of so much interest in itself, and rendered peculiarly affecting by its coincidence with our own recent domestic loss. That two such lights of the literary firmament, shining in the same department of polite letters,—the one in Europe, the other in America,—should be extinguished within a few days of each other, is surely an occurrence not to be passed over without a respectful notice in a Society of which they were both members,—co-members with ourselves. Having, while I lived in England, been honored with the intimate acquaintance, I may venture to say the friendship, of Mr. Hallam, and with his correspondence since my return, I am sure that you will indulge me for a few moments in an unstudied tribute to his memory.

It would be wholly superfluous, before the members of this Society, to dwell at length on the literary reputation of Mr.

Hallam. After the last of the three great historians of the eighteenth century in England had passed away, historical studies in that country seemed to be in abeyance. They could hardly be said to have commenced in this country. Many valuable works in the department of ancient and modern history — a few of them on this side of the Atlantic — were produced; but nothing to be named by the side of Hume, Gibbon, and Robertson. At length, after mature preparatory studies, and being then forty years of age, Mr. Hallam, in 1818, published his first, and, in the opinion of some persons, his ablest work, — “A View of the State of Europe in the Middle Ages.” This work — without, perhaps, an equal attractiveness of style with either of the three great writers just named — is, in some important respects, of higher merit than either. The erudition is sounder and more critical than that of Gibbon, though with a smaller display of learned authorities, many of which, in the lapse of near a century, have become obsolete. It is a still greater merit, that Mr. Hallam’s work — that all his works — are wholly free from the taint of irreverence that poisons Gibbon’s magnificent and truly monumental history. Mr. Hallam’s history far transcends Hume in extent, and accuracy of research; in a knowledge of the jurisprudence, not only of England, but of the Continent; and in conscientious dealings with his authorities, — in which Hume, partly from indolence, is far from being exemplary. In all the qualities of a first-rate historian, Mr. Hallam is superior to Robertson, with the single exception of a certain winning ease and lucid flow of style, by which you are so delightfully borne along, in the pages of the illustrious Scotchman. Mr. Hallam’s “History of the Middle Ages” immediately assumed, and has ever maintained, the character of a classical work.

After an interval of nine years, the “Constitutional History of England, from the Beginning of the Reign of Henry the Seventh to the Close of the Reign of George the Second,”

was published by Mr. Hallam. This, too, is a work of standard excellence. Discussing questions which at that time, more than now, divided opinion in England, Mr. Hallam's views did not, in all points, command universal assent. By the Tory journals and the Tory politicians, it was characterized as the work of "a decided partisan." Such has not been the verdict of the generation which has filled the stage since it appeared; such, in all probability, will not be the verdict of after-time; such, I am sure, will not be the light in which it will be viewed in this country. Here it will be regarded — as you have justly intimated, sir — as expounding the true principles of constitutional law for all representative governments. Mr. Hallam's work afforded what was greatly wanted, — a correction of the political system of Hume. It is owing, I am confident, in no small degree, to the gradually spreading influence of Mr. Hallam's "Constitutional History," that the theoretical Toryism of former times has almost wholly disappeared in England. His work, I am inclined to think, is generally accepted as an accurate exposition of the true principles of the British Government. It has been often said, — and never, to my knowledge, contradicted, — that it was from this work, under the guidance of the late Lord Melbourne, that the present Sovereign of England received her education in the constitution of the empire, of which she was one day, with rare union of manly vigor and female gentleness, to wield the sceptre.

The "Introduction to the Literature of Europe for the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries," was published twelve or thirteen years later, and when the author was about sixty years of age. This, with the exception of a supplementary volume of notes to his "History of the Middle Ages," was his last work. It was prepared under a cloud of sorrow. It is a work of stupendous erudition; but, from its encyclopedic character, is of unequal execution. There is, however, no quackery in it. It is not, like some similar works, a mere

compilation from former writers; but it is the fruit of original reference, and that, too, frequently in unfamiliar quarters. When, in following the course of classified inquiry, he has to speak of an author whom he has not read, he tells you so; and, when he expresses an opinion as his own, you know it is his own,—the fruit of his own inquiry and speculation. A striking instance of the wide range of his reading occurs to me at the moment. He was the first to point out the remarkable similarity between the celebrated passage on the Universality of Law, at the close of the first book in Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," with a passage in the now nearly forgotten work of the Jesuit Suarez, "*De Legibus et Deo Legislatore*." Impartiality, good sense, pure taste, freedom from all extravagance, and a clear and significant though not brilliant style, are everywhere manifested in the "Introduction," as indeed in all the works of Mr. Hallam.

In his personal history there is little to record. He was educated to the law, but never, I believe, went into court. He regarded his legal studies, however, as very important,—as qualifying him to write the "Constitutional History of England." He speaks with emphasis of Hume's deficiency in this respect; though treating his great predecessor with commendable impartiality, considering the decided antagonism of their political views. In his family relations, he was at once the happiest and unhappiest of men: the happiest, in being the father of two sons, of the rarest endowments and brightest promise; unhappiest, in being bereft of them on their entrance into life. Arthur died at the age of twenty-two, and Henry at the age of twenty-six; leaving their poor father broken-hearted, but for the hope of a re-union in a better world. Henry it was my good fortune to become acquainted with, in 1843, at the rooms of our countryman Mr. Bristed, in Trinity College, Cambridge; and an interesting memoir of this most hopeful and amiable young man, from the pen of Mr. Bristed, has been reprinted in England. One

trait of noble feeling and sentiment has been related to me of him. When Sir Robert Peel tendered to Mr. Hallam the laudable title of Baronet, he said he would be governed by his son's wishes. Henry, on being consulted, said, that, as far as his feelings were concerned, he was content to be known as the son of Henry Hallam, — a name to which no title could give added dignity.

Mr. Hallam, like all the popular authors of England, was more extensively read, in proportion to the population, in this country, than at home. In 1848, he received the title of Doctor of Laws from Harvard College; and not till the same year, from his own Oxford. About the same time, he was elected an Honorary Member of our Association. You will permit me, perhaps, to read — the Society, I think, will be gratified to hear it — the official letter written by Mr. Hallam in acknowledgment of his degree: —

CLIFTON, Oct. 26, 1848.

MY DEAR MR. EVERETT, — It has given me the greatest satisfaction to receive the Diploma of the Senate of Harvard College, conferring on me the high honor of Doctor of Laws, — an honor even enhanced by the eulogy which, through the medium of a very classical Latinity, that distinguished body has been pleased to bestow upon my several publications.

I have already, in the present year, received a similar distinction from my own University, — that of Oxford. It will be my pride, for the remainder of my days, to reflect, that not only at home, where I might better expect it, but in a land which it has not been permitted me to visit, my labors in the field of literature, deficient as I feel them to be, and perhaps unequal to what I once hoped to have been their extent, have obtained a reward of public approbation so ample and so honorable as has been allotted to them. The admiration of literary merit — and I must not now be understood as referring to myself — has become, of late years, very characteristic of America: it displays itself with a noble, and, we may say, juvenile enthusiasm, which we are far from equalling in Europe. Nothing is more likely to maintain that national affection, between those who spring from common

ancestors and speak common language, which every wise and good man, on each side of the ocean, desires to see.

I request you to return my sincere thanks to the Fellows of Harvard College. To yourself, I need not say that I am peculiarly indebted, not only for the share you have had in conferring this honor upon me, but for many testimonials of your friendship during the too short period of your residence in Great Britain.

Believe me, my dear Mr. Everett, very faithfully yours,

(Signed)

HENRY HALLAM.

Mr. Everett then offered the following resolutions ; which, having been seconded by Mr. TICKNOR, — who favored the meeting with interesting reminiscences of his acquaintance with the distinguished historian, — were unanimously adopted : —

Resolved, That the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society have, with deep sensibility, received the intelligence of the death of their honored associate, HENRY HALLAM, in a mature and venerable age ; that they highly appreciate his distinguished merit as an historian ; that they reverence his impartiality, inflexible adherence to historical integrity, and his unswerving devotion to the cause of truth, justice, and civil liberty.

Resolved, That the President of the Society be requested to transmit an attested copy of this resolution to the family of Mr. Hallam, with the assurance of our respectful sympathy with them in their bereavement.

After the adoption of the resolutions, the President said, that, among the distinguished guests whom Mr. Everett had invited to honor us with their presence, there was more than one upon whom he would gladly call, if it were within the usages of the occasion, or the

privileges of the Chair. He was happy, however, to recognize a gentleman whose name had long been on our rolls, and who was at this moment the President of the Historical Society of a sister State, — a State which dated back to an even earlier settlement than that at Plymouth Rock. The Society would hardly excuse him for delaying longer to present to them our honorary associate, — the Hon. William C. Rives, of Virginia.

MR. RIVES, in responding to the allusion made to him by the President, expressed his cordial acknowledgment for the very kind manner in which he had been welcomed into the bosom of the Society, and said, —

I beg leave to assure you, Mr. President, and the gentlemen of the Society, that I esteem it a very high privilege to be present at a social as well as business meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, — a Society which, whether we consider the variety and value of its collections, the distinguished character of its members, including many who have contributed to *make*, as well as *write*, the history of their country, or the admirable order and system in all its operations and arrangements, is the model institution of its kind in America.

You have been pleased, Mr. President, to allude to Virginia as the elder member of our great national family. In a country where, happily, we have no laws of primogeniture, the circumstance of seniority is of but little worth. It is not he who was first born to his inheritance, but he who has made the greatest advances in its improvement and development, that deserves the greatest honor; and, in this respect, you have given us many examples we shall be proud to follow. What specially gratifies me is, that you recognize the family tie.

The time was when we were all Virginians, — you, North Virginia; we, South Virginia. Although we have no longer our original *common name*, we have common sentiments and recollections, as well as common interests, still to unite and bind us closely together. Having had the good fortune, for several successive years, to be in Boston on the Birthday of Washington, I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of saying, that nowhere have I ever seen honors rendered to the memory of the great son of Virginia with a more heartfelt and enthusiastic homage than here by the citizens of Massachusetts, or heard his unrivalled character and virtues celebrated in nobler strains of eulogy than by the eloquent sons of Massachusetts.

Mr. SPARKS communicated the following letter from Governor Hutchinson to Lord Dartmouth: —

Governor Hutchinson to Lord Dartmouth.

BOSTON, Nov. 15, 1773.

. . . At present, the spirits of the people in the town of Boston are in a great ferment. Every thing that has been in my power, without the Council, I have done, and continued to do, for the preservation of the peace and good order of the town. If I had the aid which I think the Council might give, my endeavors would be more effectual. They profess to disapprove of the tumultuous, violent proceedings of the people: but they wish to see the professed end of the people, in such proceedings, attained in a regular way; and, instead of joining with me in proper measures to discourage an opposition to the landing and sale of the teas expected, one and another of the gentlemen of the greatest influence intimate, that the best thing that can be done to quiet the people would be the refusal of the gentlemen, to whom the teas are consigned, to execute the trust; and they declare they would do it, if

it was their case, and would advise all their connections to do it.

Nor will they ever countenance a measure which shall tend to carry into execution an Act of Parliament which lays taxes upon the Colonies for the purpose of a revenue. The same principle prevails with by far the greater part of the merchants, who, though, in general, they declare against mobs and violence, yet they as generally wish the teas may not be imported.

Mr. Sparks also read the following extracts from a diary kept in Boston during the period of the Boston Port Bill and of the destruction of the tea:—

Extracts from an Original Diary by Thomas Newell. Boston, 1773, 1774.

DIARY OF 1773.

Nov. 2. — A number of printed handbills were posted up at the corner of most of the streets in town, desiring all the Sons of Freedom to meet at the Tree of Liberty on Wednesday, Nov. 5.

Nov. 5. — Town-meeting concerning what to do with the consignees of tea. At said meeting, a Committee was chosen to wait on the consignees. Their answer was such, that the town voted that it was daringly affrontive to the town.

Nov. 17. — This evening, a number of persons assembled before Richard Clark's, Esq., one of the consignees of tea. They broke the windows, and did other damage.

Nov. 18. — Town-meeting. A Committee was appointed to acquaint the tea-commissioners it was the desire of the town that they would now give a final answer to their request; viz., whether they would resign their appointment. Upon which they sent into the town the following letter; viz.,—

"SIR, — In answer to the message we have this day received from the town, we beg leave to say, that we have not yet received any orders from the East-India Company respecting the expected teas: but we are now further acquainted, that our friends in England have entered into penal engagements in our behalf, merely of a commercial nature; which puts it out of our power to comply with the request of the town.

"We are, sir, your most humble servants,

"RICHARD CLARK AND SONS.

BENJ. FANEUIL, Jun., for self and
JOSHUA WINSLOW, Esq.

ELISHA HUTCHINSON, for my brother and self.

"Hon. JOHN HANCOCK, Esq., Moderator of Town-meeting
assembled at Faneuil Hall."

The answer was voted not satisfactory, and the meeting was immediately dissolved.

Nov. 28. — Captain Hall, from London in eight weeks, brought 114 chests of the so much detested East-India Company's tea.

Nov. 29. — This morning, the following notification was posted up in all parts of the town; viz., —

"FRIENDS, BRETHREN, COUNTRYMEN, — That worst of plagues, the detested tea shipped for this port by the East-India Company, is now arrived in this harbor. The hour of destruction, or manly opposition to the machinations of tyranny, stares you in the face. Every friend to his country, to himself, and posterity, is now called upon to meet at Faneuil Hall, at nine o'clock this day (at which time the bells will ring), to make a united and successful resistance to this last, worst, and destructive measure of administration."

The people accordingly met at Faneuil Hall, and voted that the tea, now arrived in Captain Hall, shall be returned to the place from whence it came, at all events. The hall could not contain all the people, and they immediately adjourned to the Old South Meeting-house.

It was voted that a watch be appointed, to consist of twenty-five men. Captain Proctor was chosen to be captain of the watch for this night. Then the meeting was adjourned to the next morning at nine o'clock.

Nov. 30. — This morning, the people met according to adjournment. The Governor sent a proclamation, commanding all people there assembled forthwith to disperse, and to cease all farther unlawful proceedings, at their utmost peril. After it was read by the Sheriff, there was immediately a loud and very general hiss. A motion was then made, and the question put, whether the assembly would disperse, according to the Governor's requirement. It passed in the negative. At night, the meeting was dissolved.

Dec. 2. — Captain Bruce, eight weeks from London, with 116 chests of that detestable tea.

Dec. 14. — The following handbill was posted up; viz., —

“FRIENDS, BRETHREN, COUNTRYMEN, — The perfidious art of your restless enemies to render ineffectual the late resolutions of the body of the people demand your assembling at the Old South Meeting-house precisely at two o'clock, at which time the bells will ring.”

The Sons of Freedom accordingly met at the Old South, and adjourned till Thursday, the 16th inst.

Dec. 16. — The Sons of Freedom mustered according to adjournment. The people ordered Mr. Rotch, owner of Captain Hall's ship, to make a demand for a clearance, of Mr. Harrison, the Collector of the Customs (and *there* was refused a clearance for his ship). The body desired Mr. Rotch to protest against the Custom House, and apply to the Governor for his pass for the Castle. He applied accordingly, and the Governor refused to give him one. The people, finding all their efforts useless to preserve the East-India Company's tea, at night dissolved the meeting. But behold what followed! The same evening, a number of brave men (some say Indians),

in less than three hours, emptied every chest of tea, on board the ships commanded by Captains Hall, Bruce, and Coffin, into the sea (amounting to 342 chests).

1774.

Jan. 1. — Last evening, a number of persons went over to Dorchester, and brought from thence part of a chest of tea that a man there had taken up at the time the Indians destroyed the tea, — on the 16th of December, 1773, — and burnt it on our Common the same evening.

Jan. 20. — There were three barrels of Bohea tea burnt in King Street; weight about 7 cwt.

March 6. — Captain Benjamin Gorham, nine weeks from London, brought $28\frac{1}{2}$ chests of Bohea tea consigned to several persons here.

March 7. — This evening, a number of Indians — as is said, of his Majesty of Oknookortunkogg tribe — emptied every chest into the dock, and destroyed the whole $28\frac{1}{2}$ chests.

May 10. — Captain Shayler, five weeks from London, brought news of this harbor being shut up by Act of Parliament of Great Britain.

May 13. — Captain Barns, five weeks from London; and Lyde, from Bristol. H. M. ship "Lively," from London, with General Gage on board.

Town-meeting to consider what measures are proper to be taken under our public affairs; more especially relative to the late edict blocking up the harbor of Boston, and annihilating the same. A Committee was chosen to go to several towns. Mr. P. Revere was chosen to go express to New York and Philadelphia.

May 17. — Governor Thomas Hutchinson, that bad governor, — superseded by Thomas Gage, Esq., who arrived last Friday, — dined with Gage at Faneuil Hall, with a large company.

June 1. — Governor Hutchinson, his son and daughter, sailed for London in Captain Callahan. Port of Boston, by the cruel edict of the British Parliament, is shut up. Three transports, with troops on board, arrived in Nantasket Road, last night, from London.

June 14. — The Fourth, or King's Own Regiment, landed at Long Wharf, and marched to the Common, where they encamped.

June 15. — The Forty-third Regiment landed at Long Wharf, and marched to the Common, and there encamped. Most of the stores on Long Wharf are now shut up. Thus are we surrounded with fleet and army. The harbor is shut up, all navigation has ceased, and not one topsail vessel to be seen but those of our enemies. Oh, let not posterity forget our sufferings!

July 1. — Admiral Graves arrived with his fleet from London. More transports arrived from Ireland with the Fifth and Thirty-eighth Regiments.

July 2. — Artillery from Castle William landed with eight brass cannon, and encamped on the Common.

258 sheep given for the relief of this town by the town of Windham in Connecticut.

July 4. — The Thirty-eighth Regiment landed at Hancock's Wharf, and encamped on the Common.

July 5. — The Fifth Regiment landed at Long Wharf, and encamped on the Common.

July 8. — About this time arrived three wagon-loads of grain, from the towns of Groton, Pepperell, and Wrentham, for the poor of this town; and this day 105 sheep, from our worthy friends in Pomfret, for the like purpose.

Aug. 2. — This morning, arrived in town 11 loads of table fish, from our worthy friends of Marblehead, — 224 quintals, — for the poor of this town; and a quintal of oil; and £40, lawful money, in cash.

Aug. 6. — The "Scarborough" man-of-war arrived, nine

weeks from England. Three transports (P.M.) from Halifax, — with the Fifty-ninth Regiment on board, and a company of artillery with brass cannon, — eight days out. The Fifty-ninth Regiment landed at Salem, and there encamped.

Aug. 7. — Three transports from New York with the Royal Regiment of Welsh Fusileers, and a detachment of Royal Artillery, and a quantity of ordnance stores.

Aug. 8. — Company of artillery landed, and encamped on the Common.

Aug. 9. — This morning, the Regiment of Welsh Fusileers (or Twenty-third) landed at Long Wharf, and encamped on Fort Hill.

Aug. 13. — Arrived in town 376 sheep, from our sympathizing brethren of Lebanon in Connecticut, for the benefit of the poor of this distressed town.

Aug. 27. — Several presents from our brethren in the country. £290 cash from Norwich and cash from many others this week.

Aug. 30. — This day, the Superior Court was holden here. When the court was seated, the grand jurors, one and all, refused to be sworn. The petit were then called for: they likewise refused to be sworn in. Some said their reason was, that Peter Oliver, Esq., Chief-Justice of that court, stood impeached by the late Honorable House of Representatives of this Province, in their own name and in the name of the Province, of divers high crimes and misdemeanors.

Sept. 1. — This morning, half-after four, about 260 troops embarked on board 13 boats at the Long Wharf, and proceeded up Mystic River to Temple's Farm; where they landed, and went to the powder-house on Quarry Hill, in Charlestown bounds; from whence they have taken 250 half-barrels of gunpowder (the whole store there), and carried it to the Castle. A detachment of this corps went to Cambridge, and brought off two field-pieces.

Sept. 2. — From these several hostile appearances, the county of Middlesex took the alarm, and, last evening, began to collect in large bodies, with their arms, provisions, and ammunition, &c. This morning, some thousand of them advanced to Cambridge, armed only with sticks. The Committee of Cambridge sent express to Charlestown, who communicated the intelligence to Boston; and their respective Committees proceeded to Cambridge without delay. Thomas Oliver, S. Danforth, T. Lee, made declaration and resignation of a seat in the new-constituted Council, which satisfied the body. At sunset, they began to return home.

Sept. 3. — This afternoon, four large field-pieces were dragged from the Common by the soldiery, and placed at the only entrance into this town by land. The "Lively" frigate, of twenty guns, came to her mooring, in the ferry-way between Boston and Charlestown.

Sept 15. — Last night, all the cannon in the North Battery were spiked up. It is said to be done by about 100 men, who came in boats from the man-of-war in this harbor.

Sept. 17. — Last night, towns-people took four brass cannon from the gun-house near the Common.

Sept. 19. — Most of our town-carpenters, with a number from the country, are now employed in building barracks for the army. Hundreds of the soldiers are now employed in repairing and mantling the fortification at the entrance of the town. The Fifty-ninth Regiment, with a number of the other soldiery, are now throwing up an intrenchment on the Neck.

Sept. 26. — All the carpenters of the town and country (this morning), that were employed in building barracks for the soldiery, left off work at the barracks.

Sept. 28. — This day, a thousand bushels of grain arrived at Salem, from Quebec, for the use of the poor in this town.

This day, Joseph Scott, Esq., has given his countrymen great uneasiness by selling the troops two large cannon, and a great quantity of cannon-balls and other implements of war.

Oct. 10. — A number of fat cattle arrived in town from our brethren of Lebanon, in the Colony of Connecticut.

Oct. 12. — The "Rose" man-of-war arrived here from Newfoundland with three companies of the Sixty-fifth Regiment.

Oct. 14. — The three companies of the Sixty-fifth Regiment landed this morning, and are now in barracks in King Street.

Oct. 18. — Captain Brown arrived at Salem with a generous donation from our brethren of the county of Monmouth in New Jersey, consisting of 1,200 bushels rye and 50 barrels of rye flour.

Oct. 19. — Captain Boyd is arrived at Salem from Hartford in Connecticut, and has brought about 900 bushels grain for the poor of this town.

Oct. 22. — This morning, at seven o'clock, after three days' illness, Mr. William Molineaux died, in the fifty-eighth year of his age; a true son of liberty and of America. It may with truth be said of this friend, that he died a martyr to the interest of America. His watchfulness, labors, and distresses, to promote the general interest, produced an inflammation of the bowels, of which he perished. "Oh, save my country, Heaven!" he said, and died.

A drove of sheep arrived in town from our brethren of Scituate, in the Colony of Rhode Island.

Oct. 23. — This day, four transports arrived here from New York with a company of Royal Artillery, a large quantity of ordnance and stores for Castle William, three companies of the Royal Regiment of Ireland, or the Eighteenth Regiment, and the Forty-seventh Regiment, on board.

Oct. 29. — Arrived here several transports, with troops on board, from Quebec; the Tenth and Fifty-second Regiments.

Nov. 2. — This evening, 400 or 500 pounds of Bohea and green tea was burnt in Charlestown.

Nov. 18. — Lately arrived in town, as a free gift, 150 sheep from the town of Smithfield, and 57 from Johnstone, and 122 from Scituate in Rhode Island, and 250 from Stonington in Connecticut.

Nov. 19. — The following donations have arrived in the course of this week: From Candy Parish, in the Province of New Hampshire, £3 lawful money and 84 sheep; from Concord, on Pennecook River, New Hampshire, 30 bushels of pease; from Rehoboth, £14 money; from Rehoboth and East Greenwich, 112 sheep; from Tiverton, 72 sheep; from Glastonbury, 160 bushels grain; from Southington, 150 bushels ditto; from Weathersfield, 73 bushels ditto; from Middleton, 1,080 bushels ditto; and from Mr. Samuel Moody, schoolmaster at Newbury Falls, five guineas.

Dec. 3. — Donations received the last week: From the county of Litchfield in Connecticut, £19. 3s. money and 51 head of cattle; from Colchester, 94 sheep and five cattle; from Fairfield, 750 bushels grain; and from Mr. Sylvanus Hare of Petersham, 11 quarters of mutton, 123 pounds weight.

Dec. 17. — This day, the "Boyne" man-of-war, of 64 guns, and the "Asia," of 60 guns, lately arrived below, came up into the harbor, and are at anchor within musket-shot of the town.

Dec. 19. — This morning, the "Somerset" man-of-war, of 64 guns, arrived in this harbor.

Mr. ELLIS exhibited the original commission of Sir William Pepperell to be Major-General.

Mr. EVERETT exhibited the Washington Cane, which was presented to him at Richmond, — one of the two

canes mentioned in Washington's will, and which had never been out of the possession of members of his family till two years ago.

A curious manuscript of Franklin, — a sort of commonplace-book, — and also a photograph of Washington, from the original miniature from life, — in possession of Miss A. Robertson, — executed by Archibald Robertson, in Philadelphia, in December, 1791, and January, 1792, — were also exhibited by Mr. Everett.

Mr. QUINCY said that the communication of Mr. Sparks recalled to his memory an anecdote relating to the period to which the diary referred. A public meeting was called in Boston to consider what was to be done in view of the scarcity of provisions, amounting even to famine. Some patriots proposed a public table, and nominated Josiah Quincy to bring the proposition before the people. He did so. The proposition was not well received. Few supported it. Some expressed their disapprobation by hisses and rude noises. Mr. Adams rose, apparently irritated, and said, "Mr. Moderator, when I perceive the unhandsome manner in which the patriotic proposition of my friend has been met, I am forcibly reminded of the lines of Milton on his detractors, —

' I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs
By the known rules of ancient liberty;
When straight a barbarous noise environs me
Of owls and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs.' "

MARCH MEETING.

The Society held its stated monthly meeting on Thursday, March 10, at noon, at their rooms in Tremont Street, Boston; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary announced donations from the American Baptist Missionary Union; the American Unitarian Association; the Boston City Missionary Society; the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the County Commissioners of Barnstable County; C. C. Henshaw, Esq.; Thomas J. Herring, Esq.; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; Hon. J. H. Hammond; L. A. H. Latour, Esq.; Mrs. I. F. Baldwin; Rev. J. P. Robinson; Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan; Rev. W. S. Perry; Colonel T. B. Lawrence; N. P. Kemp, Esq.; George H. Kuhn, Esq.; Samuel A. Green, M.D.; F. A. Benson, Esq.; and from Messrs. Bartlet, Bell, Lamson, Robbins, Shurtleff, Sibley, Webb, Whitney, and Winthrop, of the Society.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the President read letters of acceptance from Hon. Caleb Cushing and Hon. George T. Bigelow, as Resident Members; and from B. R. Winthrop, Esq., as Corresponding Member.

The President presented, on behalf of the publishers, a copy of Colton's "Cabinet Atlas."

A special recognition of their valuable donation was voted to the publishers.

The President read several acknowledgments, from societies and individuals, of their reception of the Proceedings of the Society in respect to the memory of William H. Prescott. The letter from Professor B. Silliman was ordered to be entered upon the Records. It is as follows; viz., —

NEW HAVEN, March 8, 1859.

To the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,

President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

DEAR SIR, — I have received a very interesting document, "The Proceedings of the Society on the Occasion of the Death of Mr. Prescott," the distinguished historian. As the pamphlet is inscribed to me "by the Society," — of which I have had the honor to be a Corresponding Member since 1808 (fifty years ago), elected under the Presidency of my revered friend Judge Davis, — and as I do not observe any other official name in the present instance than your own, I take the liberty to make my acknowledgments to you, and, through you, to the Society.

I have never perused any commemorative memorial with deeper interest and greater satisfaction.

The affectionate tribute rendered to the memory of the illustrious historian by so many eminent men — his friends and contemporaries — does equal honor to him and to them. Rarely in any city, certainly not in our country, can such a galaxy be found.

My own interest in these solemnities is increased by a personal knowledge of nearly all the speakers; and, still more, by grateful recollections of the historian himself in his paternal mansion, and in that sacred apartment where we may presume that his emancipated spirit hovered over his lifeless form, in full sympathy with mourning survivors, and with the noble historians whose learned volumes were grouped around as a guard of honor.

On any proper occasion, I beg leave, through you, dear sir, to present to the Society the expression of my respectful sympathy, and my thanks for their recollection of, dear sir, yours very respectfully and truly,

B. SILLIMAN.

Professor HENRY W. TORREY was elected a Resident Member, Hon. EDWARD COLES of Philadelphia an Honorary, and J. CARSON BREVOORT, Esq., of New York, a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The President nominated Messrs. Solomon Lincoln, Blagden, and Livermore, a Committee to nominate a list of officers at the annual meeting. He also nominated, as a Committee on the Treasurer's accounts, Messrs. Bowditch, William Appleton, and Sturgis.

The President was requested to return the respectful acknowledgments of the Society to the New-York Historical Society for the donation of one hundred copies of their "Proceedings on the Announcement of the Death of William H. Prescott."

The thanks of the Society were voted to Charles L. Hancock, Esq., for the valuable and interesting volumes presented by him to the library from the estate of his patriotic ancestor, John Hancock.

Dr. WEBB communicated an anonymous letter dated London, March 4, 1775; which led to an interesting discussion and various suggestions regarding its authorship.

On presenting it, Dr. Webb remarked, that it was probably transmitted in the manner alluded to in the opening paragraph; and, as Mr. Quincy did not live to reach home, — having died on board ship, whilst

upon his return voyage, in the harbor of Gloucester, April 25, 1775, — it was very likely that the letter was subsequently found among his effects. Being devoid of address as well as signature, he thought that possibly some memorandum referring to its origin or destination was made by Mr. Quincy, and could be found in his diary, or note-book. He therefore suggested that the letter be intrusted to the son of the deceased, — the present venerable Josiah Quincy, sen., — in the hope that he might be enabled to identify the chirography, or, in some way, ascertain its authorship.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — Our friend Mr. Quincy gives me an opportunity of writing to you, with a confidence of its reaching you. I have purposely omitted putting my name to my [letter]. Letters which ministerial people can reach are opened; and, if my name were seen, it would be a reason for suppressing it, independent of its contents. Besides, I am satisfied they are endeavoring to collect evidence against all those whom they regard as active friends to America.

I wrote to you upon my travels from Leghorn, and informed you of the plan which has since been put in execution. The stopping the fishery was a part of that plan. What is yet to come, I can with confidence assure you, is as follows: —

A Major Skeen, and a Parson Vardell, a native of New York, are to be sent over thither with propositions of advantages for the college, the city, and the Province, and with a list of profitable places for individuals, sufficient, as they conceive, — with the favorable disposition which they are persuaded prevails there, — to draw off that city from the common cause, and attach them to government. They are determined to spare no promises and temporary *douceurs* to effect their purpose. Four regiments of the troops now destined for America are

to be sent thither; the plan of making that the rendezvous for the whole army being so far altered. New England they are determined to subdue by arms, and subjugate to an arbitrary government, agreeably to the Massachusetts-Charter Act. The Province of Maine is to be erected into a separate government. A bishop is to be appointed at New York. This is the plan for the North. The Southern Colonies they reserve for future correction; trusting that the intervention of New York will so cut off the communication, that no assistance will be attempted, and they will have leisure, after the conquest of the North, to reduce the South to the same subjection.

Such is their present plan and prospect. Should they not succeed with New York, the whole will be deranged and defeated. Your utmost attention should be therefore applied to preserve that Province firm. If the people can be roused, so as to reject the Delancee party at the ensuing election, it will confound and frustrate all their schemes. To defeat the operation of the non-importation, they mean to encourage individuals, both here and with you, to ship and order goods; which, whether they are deceived or not, will serve to keep the manufacturers quiet here. But this is a temporary expedient; and you may be most assured that the faithful observation of the resolutions of the Congress for one year will produce most intolerable distress and dangerous insurrections, both here and in Ireland.

The last place is greatly attached to America; and, if it be prudent to relax the non-importation with them, it will make them hazard a great deal for us. If no relaxation can be made, a popular address to them will turn the tide of their resentment, upon the hardships they must feel, against its proper objects, — our oppressors. The consequence of this will be, at least, the obliging them to keep the whole establishment of troops in Ireland, and perhaps to send for those from America to join them. This is an object, I think,

highly worthy your attention. . . . I congratulate you on the junction of Jamaica. That island is of vast weight here. The deciding manner in which they have taken up the dispute gives, therefore, great alarm.

It is much agitated here, whether you ought to attack General Gage before he is re-enforced. My opinion is, that you ought not to take any steps of such decision and important consequences, without a moral certainty of success, and the approbation of the General Congress. When he is re-enforced, it will not avail them, unless he march into the country; and, in that case, it will be more easy to cope with him treble-numbered, than now in his intrenchments, under the cannon of the ships. As far, therefore, as one can judge at this distance, the attempt, in his present innocent situation, will not be prudent. I have only to add, that it is impossible any thing can increase the rancor and enmity that prevails against you here among the king's friends and his ministers. You are, therefore, to consider your present struggles as of so desperate a temper, that you are neither to expect nor give quarter. Whatever blow is struck, should, from its magnitude and violence, be worthy of the dignity and desperation of your cause. Temporary endurance must insure permanent prosperity. Prudence and resolution cannot fail of full success.

LONDON, March 4, 1775.

The following letter from Robert Walsh, Esq., to Mr. Everett, was read by the President: —

PARIS, 12th November, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR, — It is so long since we have held any intercourse, that I may have fallen out of your memory; but you will allow me to re-instate myself, asking your attention to a few lines. All your public experiences have engaged my attention. What you have allowed to go into print has

uniformly afforded me the highest satisfaction. Some impatience may be felt here that you have confined your oration on Washington to manuscript. We readily credit all the praise which it has won, and are thus more sensible of the privation. You might, methinks, transmit hither a copy to my address; having from me solemn assurance that it should not be printed, nor circulated in any form, nor read by any one out of my study. Every precaution should be taken against mischance, or any other final disposition than that which yourself might direct. When a pupil, at about twelve years of age, at the College of Georgetown, I delivered an address in verse to Washington, in person, in the old edifice.

I enjoyed opportunities of observing him closely afterwards, in company with the President of the College; and, on his death, I recited, in the pulpit of the Georgetown Catholic Church, the eulogy which was written by the Professor of Rhetoric. My remembrance of his person, demeanor, talk, opinions, is perfectly fresh. I had then studied the annals of the Revolutionary War, and of his administration of the General Government.

My particular purpose in venturing to address you now is to conciliate your interest with reference to two personages of this capital, whose names are familiar to you, and who may have possessed the advantage of your direct acquaintance. They are the venerable M. Jomard and Baron Charles Dupin. The former enjoyed, for thirty years, a spacious apartment in the edifice of the Imperial Library. He presided over the division of charts, maps, engravings, ancient documents, paleography in general. He is Honorary President of the Geographical Society, after having filled the chair during many years. He is one of the two surviving members of the Institute of Cairo of Napoleon I. He is a member of two branches of the Institute of France,—the Academy of Sciences, and that of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres. The Imperial Li-

brary, as you probably know, has been re-organized. He has been appointed Vice-President of the new Board of Directors, with the Minister of Public Instruction. Though nearly eighty years of age, he is vigorous in body, and indefatigable in his scientific pursuits.

Baron Dupin was a distinguished member of the Chamber of Deputies, and other of the Peers, under the monarchy of Louis Philippe. At one time, he was called to the Ministry of Marine. He holds seats in the Academy of Sciences, and that of the Moral and Political Sciences. No member of either body is more useful. He was at the head of the French Commission for the London Universal Exhibition. He is eminent in mathematics, and without a rival in statistics. Not long since, he prepared and published, at the instance of the Imperial Government, two octavos, entitled "The Productive Force of Nations from 1800 to 1851," as an Introduction to the Reports of the French Commission. The progress and resources of the United States have their full share of his pages and of his favor.

The two *savans* — Jomard and Dupin — are the Frenchmen whom I have found, throughout twenty-two years of constant intercourse, the most friendly and serviceable to our institutions and national character, and to individuals. They have uniformly exerted themselves when American science, literature, or invention, was to be introduced and recommended to the learned bodies and to the French public. As far as I know, neither has received any token of honor and acknowledgment from an American university or society. Each has all claims to the degree of Doctor of Laws, or to some manifestation of American esteem.

Your influence must be wide and potent; your spirit is congenial. It may be in your power, and a pleasure for you, to accomplish what I have ventured to suggest. M. Jomard entertains a special reverence for Washington. He has collected portraits and relics, and reads eagerly every new

publication relating to the hero. Last year, an advertisement of the wood of a tree which had hung over the grave at Mount Vernon was inserted in the "National Intelligencer." I addressed myself to Lieutenant Maury, in order to procure what would make a cane for M. Jomard. I offered to pay the expense of a head of California gold. But no answer was given. Such a present would be deemed inestimable by the aged servant, whose heart may be said to lie in the New World. He and Baron Dupin are entirely strangers to what I write.

I trust that Professor Felton will send us copies of his paper on the ancient Greek tablet which he found in Dr. Abbott's Egyptian museum. His communication to the "Athens Journal" of the 5th July was placed by me in the hands of the accomplished Hellenists, De Presle and D'Hivrey, who greatly admire his modern Greek and his patriotic zeal.

Pardon this scrawl; and be pleased to accept the liveliest respect and constant devotion of your old correspondent,

ROBERT WALSH.

Hon. EDWARD EVERETT.

Mr. DEANE deposited in the library of the Society a volume of Winslow Papers from 1638 to 1759, belonging to Mr. Isaac P. Winslow, and subject to his order.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 14, 1859.

The Society held their annual meeting this day (Thursday), the 14th of April, in their rooms in Tremont Street, at twelve o'clock, noon; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the American Antiquarian Society; the New-York-State Agricultural Society; the Royal Society of Antiquaries; Department of State of the United States; the Ohio State Library; the Young Men's Mercantile-Library Association of Cincinnati; the Boston Athenæum; the City of Boston; the proprietors of the "Congregational Quarterly;" John Wilson, Esq.; Rev. A. P. Peabody; Samuel A. Green, Esq., M.D.; Thomas S. Kirkbridge, Esq., M.D.; Francis Lousada, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul; General John S. Tyler; Hon. John P. Kennedy; S. C. Newman, Esq.; A. Erving, Esq.; E. Robinson, Esq.; Hon. Joel Parker; and from Messrs. Bigelow, Blagden, Bowen, Lamson, Lothrop, Quincy, Robbins, Savage, Shurtleff, Sumner, Warren, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from Hon. Edward Coles, of Pennsylvania; also a letter from Rev. William Barry, Librarian of the Chicago Historical Society, acknowledging the reception of this Society's tribute to Prescott.

The President read a communication from General Sumner, placing at the disposal of the Standing Committee ten copies of his "History of East Boston," for transmission to such learned societies and foreign correspondents of the Society as the Committee might select.

The President communicated the following letter from Hon. Richard Rush, an Honorary Member of the Society:—

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

MY DEAR SIR, — A troublesome cold I have been laboring under has delayed this acknowledgment of the highly acceptable pamphlet containing the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, convened to do honor to the memory of Mr. Prescott. The pamphlet is but the more welcome from my recognizing your handwriting on the fly-leaf. I now beg leave to return my grateful thanks for it. I have read the whole with feelings in full unison with the homage it so well embodies to the exalted name of the illustrious deceased. It is so seldom — so very seldom — that we have beheld, in the long stream of time, the renown of a great intellectual name going hand in hand with personal virtues and accomplishments of the highest order, that we may feel a just pride in our country having given to the world a shining example of this rare double excellence in our Prescott.

In October, 1847, I met, at the house of a distinguished personage in Paris, the venerable Baron Humboldt; to whom the Prussian minister, Count d'Arnim, presented me. He spoke of Mr. Prescott in the highest terms; saying, among his tributes, that his fame was higher, perhaps, in Germany than in England, — justly as he was appreciated in England. His words, besides falling gratefully on my ear as the compatriot of Mr. Prescott, reached the little group near me, while the venerable philosopher and *savant* was speaking.

Soon afterwards, it was my good fortune to receive a letter from Mr. Prescott, stating that he had, for some years, been collecting manuscripts from the different capitals of Europe to illustrate the "History of Philip the Second, of Spain;" that he had ascertained that the papers of Cardinal Granville, comprising an important mass of documents bearing upon his investigations, were at Besançon; and that, under this information, he had sent an agent there to examine

the archives. His agent learned that the papers had been removed to Paris, and were in course of publication by the French Government, but would not be on sale. Mr. Prescott's letter further stated, that, under these circumstances, a friend of his in Paris, Count de Circourt (in whom I, too, claimed a friend), had encouraged him to believe that an application from me to the French Government on the subject might be favorably received. I at once addressed a note to the Minister of Public Instruction (then M. de Salvandy), designed to promote Mr. Prescott's object as far as practicable. Almost on the next day came the minister's answer, accompanied by six quarto volumes, comprising the whole collection of Cardinal Granville's papers. I caused the volumes to be transmitted to Mr. Prescott, appreciating this prompt homage to letters on the part of Louis Philippe's government; and I add, that I performed no act in the public station I held in Paris which gave me more sincere pleasure.

With renewed thanks to the Massachusetts Historical Society for the valued pamphlet, and to yourself, I pray you, my dear sir, to accept the assurances of my very friendly consideration and esteem.

RICHARD RUSH.

PHILADELPHIA, March 12, 1859.

Mr. LIVERMORE presented the Annual Report of the Standing Committee for the year ending this day; which was accepted, and ordered to be placed on file, subject to the disposal of the Committee on printing the Proceedings.

Report of the Standing Committee.

In presenting their Annual Report, the Standing Committee perform a duty required by the By-laws of the Society. Their Reports at each stated monthly meeting have necessarily been

brief, and by no means supersede the necessity of a summary review of their transactions at the close of the official year.

The duties of the Standing Committee, as carefully stated in Chapter X. of the By-laws, are neither few nor unimportant. They are:—

ART. 1. — The Standing Committee, as vacancies may occur in the Society by death or otherwise, shall, at their discretion, report nominations for Resident Members to fill the same.

ART. 2. — They shall pay the current expenses of the Society; drawing on the Treasurer, from time to time, for such sums as may be necessary for that purpose.

ART. 3. — They shall annually, in the month of April, make a careful examination of the Library and Museum of the Society, and also of the Dowse Library; comparing the books, manuscripts, and other articles in each, with their catalogues respectively, and reporting at the April meeting, in detail, concerning their condition.

ART. 4. — They shall record in full, in a book kept by them for the purpose, any permission granted by any one of their number for the consultation of the manuscripts of the Society by persons not members.

ART. 5. — They shall meet in the Society's rooms one hour previous to every regular meeting, for the fulfilment of their appropriate duties, and for the purpose of facilitating the transaction of such business as will be brought before the Society.

ART. 6. — They shall, at every meeting, report to the Society all their doings since the last meeting, suggesting at the same time such business as they may deem advisable to bring before it.

In addition to the regular and general duties prescribed above, the Standing Committee are frequently charged with the consideration and execution of important measures introduced at the stated meetings of the Society, but not finally disposed of there.

On this Committee, therefore, devolve, to a great extent, the labor and the responsibility of conducting the affairs of the Society. It is a good provision of the By-laws which requires two, at least, of their number to retire from office

each year; thus enabling the Society to avail itself annually of the services of members fresh from their own ranks.

The subjects considered in this Report will be presented in the order in which they stand in the By-laws.

NOMINATION OF MEMBERS.

By the original Act of Incorporation, passed in 1794, the number of Resident Members could not exceed sixty. While that Act remained in force, nominations were only made to fill vacancies occasioned by the death or the resignation of members. It was in no exclusive spirit, or desire to limit the honors or the privileges of the Society, that its founders thus restricted the number of members. They selected the *hive* as the device for their seal; and "Sic vos, non vobis," was their motto. All were to be workers, each in his own way. Whilst the *labor* of gathering and storing the riches of history devolved upon them, the *fruits* of their industry were to be as freely enjoyed by others as by themselves. Every person who was nominated, and accepted membership, was expected to take a direct personal interest in the welfare of the Society; and to contribute, as far as he might be able, and in his own way, of his time, or his talents, or his pecuniary means, for the furtherance of the objects for which this Association was established.

As the community became more populous, and as the interest in historical investigations increased, it was decided by the Society — without departing from the original *principle* which guided its founders — to ask permission of the Legislature to make a corresponding addition of members.

In April, 1857, an Act was passed enabling the Society to have "as many as one hundred Resident Members, at their discretion." It was, however, understood and agreed, when this amendment of the charter was asked for, that the whole number of new members should not be immediately filled; and accordingly a provision was inserted in the

By-laws, that not more than two Resident Members should be nominated for election at the same meeting.

The nomination of members is a matter that has required the most careful deliberation and the best judgment of the Committee. The Recording Secretary, according to the By-laws (chap. i., art. 2), keeps a book, in which "any Resident Member may enter the name of any person whom he may regard as suitable for membership." But the duty of selecting from this list of names, and of reporting nominations to the Society, rests entirely with the Standing Committee. They have allowed no political, religious, or personal bias to influence them in their choice. Every nomination that has been submitted to the Society has been by the unanimous agreement of the Committee; and they have been gratified by the fact, that all their nominations have been confirmed by the Society. Eighteen Resident Members have been elected the past year, — making the present number of Resident Members eighty-three; and the whole number of Honorary, Corresponding, and Resident Members, at this time, one hundred and ninety-one. Three of our Resident Members — Lemuel Shattuck, William H. Prescott, and Edward A. Crowninshield — have been taken away by death, and their decease has been properly noticed by the Society. Among the Honorary Members, the loss of Henry Hallam of London, and of Robert Walsh of Paris, received special notice.

EXPENSES OF THE SOCIETY.

The Standing Committee are required by the By-laws to "pay the current expenses of the Society; drawing on the Treasurer, from time to time, for such sums as may be necessary for that purpose."

With the enlarged numbers and increased activity of the Society, the *expenses* have been considerably increased; and the Committee have been obliged to restrict their ope-

rations, that they might not exceed the income at their disposal.

A carefully prepared statement of the financial condition of the Society, giving in detail an account of the items which compose its permanent funds, and its other resources, has been made out by the Treasurer, and will be submitted in print at this meeting. It will show that the permanent funds of the Society are safely invested, and that the income from them has been regularly applied to the uses for which the funds were given.

The present income of the Appleton Fund will enable the Publishing Committee to print a new volume of Collections without delay.

The Historical Trust Fund — given by the Hon. David Sears — has been used, under the sanction of its liberal donor, towards the payment for the Society's building. If a vote were passed, directing the payment of the interest on this fund towards diminishing the amount due on account of the purchase of this building, something would be done towards the accomplishment of a most desirable object, — the reduction of the Society's standing debt.

The Dowse Fund provides a sufficient income for warming the library-room, for insurance on the books, and for a portion of the salary of the Librarian.

The donation by the venerated senior member of the Society, Hon. Josiah Quincy, of the copyright of his "Life of John Quincy Adams," has already yielded to the Society the sum of two hundred and twenty-five dollars, as the first-fruits of that generous gift. The Committee recommend that this amount be appropriated towards the printing of the Catalogue, — one of the objects specified by Mr. Quincy.

The unrestricted income applicable to the general expenses of the Society is received from the annual assessments and admission-fees of members, and from the sale of the Society's

publications. All these are insufficient for this purpose; and the general account shows a balance due to the Treasurer of three hundred and twelve dollars and thirty-seven cents.

It should be gratefully remembered, that this deficit would have been much more serious but for the timely aid which our treasury received in the proceeds of the "Eulogy on Mr. Dowse," by our distinguished associate Mr. Everett, whose remarkable accomplishments and gifts, while they have enriched so many other associations, have not passed over our own, without leaving substantial and memorable results.

THE LIBRARY, CABINET, ETC.

The Standing Committee are required by the By-laws to make annually, in the month of April, a careful examination of the Library and Museum of the Society; comparing the books, manuscripts, and other articles in each, with their catalogues respectively, and reporting at the April meeting, in detail, concerning their condition. The want of a proper catalogue of these collections has prevented the Committee from making the careful examination and comparison which is intended. They can report only in general terms, that they have found the Library and Museum in their usual order; and would refer the Society, for the particulars of the accessions, present condition, and wants of these departments, to the Reports of the Librarian and the Cabinet-keeper.

CATALOGUE.

A special duty assigned to the Standing Committee the present year was the publication of a Catalogue of the Society's Library. Considerable progress has been made in this work, under the charge of the Secretary and Mr. Deane. A specimen of two hundred and forty pages is presented for the inspection of members, that they may be able not only to see how much has been done, but also

to obtain a general idea of the character and appearance of the Catalogue.

For defraying the expense of publishing the Catalogue, a subscription was commenced; by the terms of which, each person who contributed fifty dollars or more was entitled to a complete set of the Society's Collections. The amount received on this subscription is six hundred and five dollars. The cost of printing, thus far, is four hundred and forty-one dollars and seven cents; leaving a balance in the hands of the Treasurer of one hundred and sixty-three dollars and ninety-three cents. It is for the Society to decide how the further payment for printing the Catalogue shall be provided for.

PROCEEDINGS.

By a vote of the Society in April last, the Standing Committee were authorized to publish such a selection from the recent Proceedings of the Society as they deemed to be of general interest. The Chairman and Secretary were appointed a Subcommittee to carry this vote into effect. Circumstances beyond their control have compelled the Committee to delay the publication of the work until the present time. They are able to-day to submit to the Society, as the result of their labor, a volume of over four hundred pages, illustrated with several fine engravings, executed expressly for this work, without expense to the Society. The entire cost of printing and binding the edition of five hundred copies is six hundred and seventy-six dollars and seventy-three cents. Had the illustrations been engraved at the expense of the Society, the cost of the edition would have exceeded a thousand dollars. The bills for printing and binding have been paid; and the entire receipts for sales of the volume can be used towards defraying the current expenses of the Society the coming year. The Committee recommend that the volume be sent to the institutions and individuals which have heretofore received

the Collections of the Society, either by courtesy or exchange; and that the price at which the volume is sold be fixed at two dollars per copy.

We are indebted to the liberality of the executors of the late Samuel Appleton for a beautiful engraving from the Society's portrait of the munificent founder of the Appleton Fund; to Edward Belknap, Esq., for an engraving of the head of his grandfather, the late Jeremy Belknap, also for a fine line engraving of Gullager's portrait of Washington, which is particularly noticed by Dr. Belknap in his journal, recently presented to the Society, and a portion of which is printed in the Proceedings. This head of Washington has never before been engraved; and, having been taken during Washington's visit to Boston in 1789, it will be regarded with interest. The portraits of Thomas Dowse from Wight's painting, and of Edward Everett from Stuart's unfinished sketch, painted in 1821, — the only portraits in the Dowse Library, — were furnished by Mr. Dowse's executors.

Our Corresponding Member, — Benjamin R. Winthrop, of New York, — learning that the Committee of Publication desired to adorn their volume with an engraving of the Washington Chair, which he presented to the Society, generously offered to defray the expense of the engraving.

A few words respecting the object and character of the publication may most easily be given in the words of the preface to the volume; and with this extract the Standing Committee will close their Report: —

“The publication of the Proceedings of the Society is not intended to interfere with that of the Collections, of which three series, and a part of the fourth, — thirty-four volumes in all, — have already been issued, and another volume is now in charge of a Publishing Committee. The Collections have hitherto been necessarily of quite a miscellaneous character. The liberal provisions of the Appleton Fund will hereafter allow the Society to publish annually a hand-

some volume from original manuscripts of permanent interest, either from its own archives or from other sources; while the Proceedings will contain an account of the stated and special meetings, the reports of committees, correspondence, announcements of donations, and papers of a less elaborate character, prepared by members, and read before the Society.

“Another volume of Proceedings, commencing with the Annual Meeting in April, 1858, is already in press. The Committee hope that there will also be prepared, at some convenient and not very remote time, a digest or selection from the Society’s records, which may give a connected history of its origin and early transactions, — that the Society may thus acknowledge, in the most fitting manner, its indebtedness to the founders and early members by whose exertions, so wisely applied, it was established on a basis which has secured its continued usefulness and increasing prosperity.”

Respectfully submitted.

For the Standing Committee,

GEORGE LIVERMORE.

BOSTON, April 14, 1859.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to George Livermore, Esq., — to whose untiring labors and unfailing liberality the Society have owed so much, — for his valuable services as Chairman of the Standing Committee during the past year, and also to Colonel Thomas Aspinwall, his faithful associate, on their retirement from the Committee, under the rules of rotation.

The Librarian and the Cabinet-keeper presented their Annual Reports, which were accepted, and ordered to be placed on file, and to be printed in the Proceedings.

Annual Report of the Librarian.

The Librarian respectfully submits the Annual Report required of him by the Rules.

The different items of addition to the library during the past year amount in all to two thousand three hundred and sixty-eight; viz., two thousand and ten pamphlets, three hundred and forty-four bound volumes, ten maps, three collections of manuscripts, and one unbound volume of newspapers. This is about a thousand more distinct items of donation than were received last year. The number of bound volumes, however, is a hundred and fifteen less; the manuscripts, much less in number and in importance; and the entire addition, though in some particulars of great value and interest, has not, as a whole, so much that is rare, curious, and of service, as that of last year. It is sufficiently ample, however, to inspire — what in every case, it is believed, has been expressed — our acknowledgments and gratitude to the donors, and to beget the pleasant conviction, that our library is more and more attracting the attention both of our own members, and of persons and societies at a distance, through whose contributions it is becoming the depository of biblical treasures, whose value can hardly be calculated in dollars and cents.

Of the bound volumes added to the library, twenty-three have been procured in exchange for sets of our own Collections, and consist of three very valuable works: viz., Dugdale's "Monasticon," eight volumes; Thurloe's "State Papers," seven volumes; Rushworth's "State Papers," eight volumes. Among the other bound volumes may be mentioned, as interesting or important, Dart's "History of Westminster Abbey" and Rapin's "History of England," presented by Charles Hancock, Esq., and which were, probably, once a part of the library of Governor Hancock.

2. Lodge's "Illustrations of British History," three volumes; Anderson's "History of Commerce," four volumes; Ekins' "Naval Battles," one volume, — presented by T. J. Herring.

3. Twenty small volumes of curious and valuable tracts relating to various subjects, theological and historical; especial English maritime enterprises and discoveries in Sir Francis Drake's time, — presented by our associate, Hon. C. H. Warren.

4. Thirty-three volumes of American literature, — dramas, poems, and other works, — published in this country soon after the Revolution; presented by our associate, George Ticknor, Esq.

5. Anburey's "Travels," one volume, from the library of the late Eben Francis; presented by his daughters, Mrs. Bowditch and Mrs. Mason.

The manuscripts received are, 1. The Waldron Papers, presented by Mrs. Benjamin Guild; consisting of forty-three letters of William Waldron, and two of Mrs. Waldron.

2. Governor Jonathan Belcher's Letter-book, presented by Hon. C. H. Warren.

3. Manuscript notes of sermons of various preachers, made probably from 1680 to 1700, by an Elisha Cook, sen.; and presented by our associate, Leverett Saltonstall, Esq.

Of the maps received, four are county maps, presented by the County Commission, and are maps of Plymouth County, Bristol County, Norfolk County; and of Barnstable, Nantucket, and Duke's County, on one map. Two are maps of the Crimea and of the Baltic Sea, and two are manuscript Chinese maps, presented by Lieutenant Preble, of the United-States Navy.

These various items of donation to the library — three thousand three hundred and sixty-eight — have been received from a hundred and forty-eight different sources; which is an increase in the number of contributors, over that of last year, of forty-four. The individual contributors are a hun-

dred and fourteen; which is an increase over those of last year of thirty-one, and that increase is chiefly from among members of the Society. The civil or municipal governments, literary societies, and other associations contributing, are thirty-four; which is an increase of thirteen over those of last year.

The use of the library, as determined by the number of books taken out, and by visits to it for the purposes of reading and investigation, in our agreeable rooms, has largely increased during the year. All the books taken out have been returned, and in good condition, except two, — Walker's "History of Industry," and one volume of "Purchas," — which are retained on special permission of the Standing Committee. No book has been lost. The two volumes reported as missing last year — Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrims," and Sargent's "History of Braddock's Expedition" — have not been found; but the latter has been replaced by a new copy, the gift of the President of the Society. The classification of the books in the Society's library remains as announced last year: but the volumes have been re-numbered in accordance with the classification; and the Dowse Library has been arranged, as far as was found practicable, in conformity with the plan presented in the Librarian's Report of last year. The necessity of more shelf-room, and larger provision for our increasing treasures, is a matter demanding the serious attention of the Standing Committee and the whole Society. All our present shelf-room is crowded to overflowing; and many books received the past year have no place assigned them. There are no shelves for them. There is a necessity resting upon us to make more provision for the accommodation of our increasing library. When this is to be done, is a question upon which probably there can be but one opinion. This provision is to be made in the large room, in the third story of the building. What this provision shall be, and how it shall

be effected, are questions which the Librarian deems it his duty to urge upon the speedy and earnest consideration of the Society.

Respectfully submitted.

S. K. LOTHROP, *Librarian.*

Report of the Cabinet-Keeper.

The Cabinet-Keeper, in accordance with the requirements of the By-laws of the Society, presents the following as his Annual Report, expressive of the condition of the museum intrusted to his care:—

The property of the Society which falls under the particular charge of the Keeper of the Cabinet consists of a large variety of articles, the value of which mainly depends upon the historical associations connected with them, and upon the aid which they furnish the archæological student in pursuing antiquarian investigations. Among these may be mentioned a valuable collection of portraits of individuals, who, in some of the many callings and relations of life, have become sufficiently noted to entitle them to a personal remembrance in a Society devoted solely to historical pursuits. Besides these, there are many curiosities illustrative of the peculiar customs and social habits of the people of the Oceanic Islands, and of various foreign countries; and, more especially, of the aboriginal inhabitants of the American Continent, who were occupants of the soil before the settlement of Europeans. Many remembrancers of the olden time, — of the fathers of New England, and of the more recent revolutionary period, are preserved in the cabinet with great care, as among the most desirable and valuable of treasures. A considerable number of coins and medals, and a numerous collec-

tion of other articles of small size, together with a few works of art and ingenuity, comprise the remaining objects of the Society's museum.

This department of the Society's treasures does not appear in an advantageous light. Although all the portraits have been carefully arranged and labelled during the past year, many of them require the labor and skill of a competent artist to restore their decaying canvas and fading colors. The coins and medals require suitable cases for their preservation and exhibition; and the smaller matters, which are generally considered as cabinet articles, require one or more glazed cases, such as the one which has been placed upon the table in the library-room since the Report of the last annual meeting. There is a small room in the third story of the Society's building which apparently would serve well the purpose of a cabinet-room for the small articles, if it could be properly shelved, and supplied with cases. With such a room, suitably fitted, the cabinet might be displayed to sight, and the Keeper of it might feel somewhat contented and proud of his position; and the department be, as it should be, a prominent matter of interest to the members of the Society, and of the community which daily visits the rich stores of the library so intimately connected with it.

The general prosperity which affects the Society, it is hoped, will soon reach the cabinet. Yet it is a matter of considerable congratulation, that the articles are safe. No loss, as far as can be ascertained, has been sustained by the cabinet; and it only remains for the Society to say the word, and find the means, and it can at any time assume a prominent position, and afford its proportionate part of interest to those who visit the rooms either for study or the gratification of a proper curiosity.

Several additions have been made to the cabinet during the past year; but these have not been so numerous as could be desired, or as would reasonably be expected, if there were

ample means for their exhibition. It is the ardent wish of the undersigned, that another year will be productive of more gratifying results.

Respectfully submitted.

NATHL. B. SHURTLEFF,

Boston, 14th April, 1859.

Cabinet-Keeper.

The Treasurer presented his Report in print, which was accepted.

Treasurer's Report.

In compliance with the request of the Standing Committee, the Treasurer presents the following statement of the financial condition of the Society:—

GENERAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL, 1859.

DEBITS.	
Interest to Suffolk Savings Bank	\$1,650.00
John Appleton,— Salary	625.00
George Arnold, „	312.00
Insurance	187.50
City of Boston Taxes	370.63
Preparing Belknap Papers	128.00
Printing and binding	357.36
Printing and binding "Proceedings of the Society"	676.73
Reprinting vol. x. of First Series of "Collections". . . .	315.34
Sundry expenses	182.19
Furniture and Gas-fixtures	130.54
Labor	55.12
Fuel	70.25
Stationery	46.34
Historical Trust-Fund	318.57

\$5,425.57

CREDITS.	
Balance of last year's Account	\$124.95
Rent of Suffolk Savings Bank	2,200.00
Income of the Dowse Fund	600.00
Proceeds of Eulogy on Thomas Dowse, by Hon. Edward Everett.	700.00
Admission-fees	180.00
Annual assessments	350.00
Sales of Society's Publications	358.62
Suffolk Savings Bank,— Taxes	370.63
Sundries	4.00
Sales of "Life of John Q. Adams"	225.00
Balance due Treasurer	312.37

\$5,425.57

THE APPLETON FUND.

This fund consists of ten thousand dollars, presented to the Society by the executors of the will of the late Samuel Appleton, Nov. 18, 1854, on the condition that its income shall be applied to the purchase, preservation, and publication of historical material. Volumes third and fourth of the Fourth Series of the Society's Collections were printed at the charge of this fund. It is invested, as it was received from the executors, in the stocks named below.

Account ending April, 1859.

DEBITS.	
Due Treasurer	\$4.63
Paid for copying	15.14
Balance in Treasurer's hands	570.23
	<u>\$590.00</u>

CREDITS.	
Dividends on 2 Shares of Amoskeag Company	\$140.00
" " 2 " " Stark Company	80.00
" " 1 Share " Appleton Company	80.00
" " 1 " " Hamilton Company	80.00
" " 1 " " Merrimack Company	90.00
" " 1 " " Cotton Mills	40.00
" " 1 " " Suffolk Company	40.00
" " 1 " " Manchester Prints	40.00
	<u>\$590.00</u>

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND.

This fund consists of two thousand dollars, presented to the Society, Oct. 15, 1855, by Hon. David Sears, the annual income of which may be expended in certain specified objects, as the Society may, by special vote, direct.

Account to April, 1859.

CREDITS.	
By Income to Mar. 1, 1856	\$32.00
" " " Sept. 1, 1856	60.00
" " " Sept. 1, 1857	125.52
" " " Sept. 1, 1858	133.05
	<u>\$350.57</u>

This sum is at the disposal of the Society.

THE DOWSE FUND.

This fund is ten thousand dollars. It was presented to the Society, April, 1857, by the executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse; and it is invested in a note signed by Edward Hyde and O. W. Watriss, secured by mortgage on real estate. The income, six hundred dollars, is used for heating the library-room, insurance on the library, and a portion of the salary of the Librarian.

THE CATALOGUE FUND.

This is a special fund, raised by subscription during the last year towards printing the Catalogue of the Society's library.

DEBITS.

Paid John Wilson and Son for two hundred and forty pages of the Catalogue in type	\$441.07
Balance in the Treasurer's hands	163.93
	<u>\$605.00</u>

CREDITS.

Subscriptions received	\$605.00
	<u>\$605.00</u>

PROPERTY OF THE SOCIETY.

The Estate on Tremont Street.—The Society purchased, March 6, 1833, of the Provident Savings Institution, the second story and one-half of the attic story of this building for \$6,500; and on the 13th of March, 1856, the remainder of the interest of this institution, for \$35,000. A portion of this was paid by subscription; and, for the remainder, the Society mortgaged the whole estate to the Suffolk Savings Bank for Seamen and Others for \$27,500. The lower floor is leased to this bank for fifteen years, from March 1, 1856, for \$2,200 per year. It was the intention to provide an annual sum for the extinction of this debt; but the recent activities of the Society have created so large a demand on the treasury, that this has not been possible.

The Library, Paintings, and Cabinet. — The library consists of about eight thousand bound volumes, and thirteen thousand pamphlets.

The Society's Collections. — These consist of the thirty-four volumes of the "Collections," and one volume of "Proceedings," — about six thousand volumes, which are for sale.

The Appleton Fund, of ten thousand dollars.

The Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund, of two thousand dollars.

The Dowse Library. — This library was presented to the Society by the late Thomas Dowse, and consists of about five thousand volumes.

The Dowse Fund, of ten thousand dollars.

The Copyright of the "Life of John Quincy Adams." — This was presented to the Society by Hon. Josiah Quincy.

THE INCOME.

The income of the Society consists of an annual assessment, on each Resident Member, of five dollars, or, instead, the payment of sixty dollars; the admission-fee of ten dollars of new members; the rent of the lower floor of the Society's building; the income of the Dowse Fund; the sales of the publications of the Society, and the sales of the "Life of John Quincy Adams." There is no income for the purchase of books; nor, indeed, is there a reliable income at all adequate to the proper maintenance of an institution of so much public interest and utility.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, Jun., *Treasurer.*

APRIL 9, 1859.

BOSTON, April 13, 1859. — The undersigned, a Committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, have attended to that duty, and report that the accounts are properly vouched and correctly cast; and that there is due to the Treasurer, on the general account, three hundred and twelve dollars, thirty-seven cents; and that there is in his hands, on the Appleton Fund, five hundred and seventy dollars,

twenty cents; and on the Trust-Fund, so called, three hundred and fifty dollars, fifty-seven cents; and on the Catalogue Fund, a hundred and sixty-three dollars, ninety-eight cents.

WM. STURGIS,
N. I. BOWDITCH, } Committee.
WM. APPLETON, }

A communication was received from Charles B. Norton, Esq., of New York, accompanying, and conveying to the Society, a printed document, of which the following is a copy:—

Oaths appointed to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; and Declaration.

I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King William the Third. So help me God.

I, A. B., do swear, that I do, from my heart, abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated, or deprived by the Pope or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever; and I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, — ecclesiastical or spiritual, — within the realm of England. So help me God.

I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe, that, in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome,

are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope, or any authority or person whatsoever; or without any hope of any such dispensation from any authority or person whatsoever; or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, — although the Pope, or any other person or persons or power whatsoever, should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

THOMAS PERLEY.
WILLIAM WILSON.
JEREH. SWEYNE.
EDWARD JACKSON.
WILLIAM VESEY.
NATHL. KNOULTON.
JOSEPH SHERMAN.
JOHN WHITE.
PHINEHAS UPHAM.
ELEZER FRARY.
JAMES DAVIS.
SAML. FOGG.
JOHN WHITE.
DAVID HASELTINE.
JOHN KIMBALL.
ANDR. BELCHER.

JOHN HAVEN.
ABRAM. PREBLE, Jun.
THO. SAWIN.
EDWARD FOBES.
JOS. WOLCOTT.
JAMES COFFIN.
JAMES WARREN.
SAML. CHECKLEY.
THOMAS OAKES.
JON. GOREHAM.
EBENEZER BRENTON.
JOHN BAGSHOT (?).
JEDIDIAH DEWEY.
JOHN OSGOOD.
SAMUELL ROBINSON.

BOSTON, May 27th, 1702.

The twenty-nine persons within subscribed took the within-written oaths, repeated and subscribed the declaration, and signed the association on the other side.

Before us,	ELISHA COOKE,	} <i>Of the Council.</i>
	SAM. SEWALL,	
	JSE. ADDINGTON,	

Association.

Whereas there has been a horrid and detestable conspiracy formed and carried on by Papists and other wicked and traitorous persons for assassinating His Majesty's royal person, in order to encourage an invasion from France, to subvert our religion, laws, and liberty, — we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do heartily, sincerely, and solemnly profess, testify, and declare, that His present Majesty King William is rightful and lawful King of the realms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and we do mutually promise and engage to stand by and assist each other to the utmost of our power, in the support and defence of His Majesty's most sacred person and government against the late King James and all his adherents. And, in case His Majesty come to any violent or untimely death (which God forbid), we do hereby further freely and unanimously oblige ourselves to unite, associate, and stand by each other, in revenging the same upon his enemies and their adherents, and in supporting and defending the succession of the crown according to an Act made in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, intituled "An Act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown."

JEREMIAH SWEYNE.
JEDIDIAH DEWEY.
JOHN OSGOOD.
SAMUEL ROBINSON.
THOMAS PERLEY.
WILLIAM WILSON.
EDWARD JACKSON.
JOHN WHITE.
NATHL. KNOULTON.
SAML. FOGG.
PHINEHAS UPHAM.
JOHN WHITE.
ANDR. BELCHER.
JOHN HAVEN.

JOS. WOLCOTT.
THO. SAWIN.
SAML. CHECKLEY.
EBENEZER BRENTON.
WILLIAM VESEY.
JOSEPH SHERMAN.
ELEZER FRARY.
JAMES DAVIS.
DAVID HASELTINE.
JOHN KIMBALL.
ABRAM. PREBLE, Jun.
EDWARD FOBES.
JAMES WARREN.
JON. GOREHAM.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Norton for his acceptable donation to the archives of the Society.

Baron CHARLES DUPIN and M. JOMARD, of France, were elected Honorary Members; and Hon. H. D. GILPIN, of Philadelphia, a Corresponding Member.

The President asked the attention of the Society to the following communication from William H. Gardiner, Esq., an executor of the will of Mr. Prescott, and one of his most intimate friends:—

BOSTON, April 13, 1859.

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,

President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

MY DEAR SIR,—I address you in your official capacity, for the purpose of communicating the fact, that our much-lamented friend Prescott made in his last will an appropriate bequest to the venerable Society over which you preside, and of which he was himself a distinguished member, fully appreciated by his associates while he lived, and worthily honored in their published notice of his death.

You are doubtless aware—for the fact was familiar to all his personal friends, and has even been mentioned in more than one publication on both sides of the Atlantic, I think—that this eminent historian and peaceful man of letters was well pleased to be the possessor of *two swords*, which used to hang, crossing each other, over the recess of the great window in his library.

You have probably yourself seen them there, and have perhaps heard him speak of them. They often gave him occasion for a pleasant remark, or for the brief narration of a little piece of family history, or of some other anecdote connected with them, as often as the singularity of the circumstance appeared to fix the attention of some stranger among

his guests. For in that elegant apartment, used by him commonly as a reception-room, where the visitor found himself surrounded by some thousands of choice books in beautiful bindings, together with busts and pictures of distinguished men of letters, and other appropriate symbols of literary ease and culture, the eye was struck, at the entrance, by the strange contrast of these two martial implements, which seemed to be purposely so disposed as to attract attention; for they occupied a most conspicuous place among the chosen decorations of the room.

They were purposely so placed, not as unmeaning ornaments, but because they were ancestral memorials, with a story attached to them. This, as you know, was enough to give them a peculiar value in the estimate of our friend Prescott, who in that, as in some other characteristics, bore a certain resemblance to Sir Walter Scott.

Of these two weapons, the one was the sword of his renowned grandfather, Colonel William Prescott, and was worn by that distinguished officer on the eventful day when he commanded the American forces in the redoubt on Bunker's Hill; or, since I address the President of an Historical Society, I suppose I may be bound to say, more accurately, *Breed's Hill*. The other formerly belonged to the grandfather of Mrs. Prescott,—the gallant Captain Linzee, of the British Royal Navy,—and was worn by him on the same eventful day, while in command of the sloop-of-war "*Falcon*," riding at anchor in the Charles River, opposite to the above-mentioned hill, and charged with the duty of cannonading the rebels assembled there or in its neighborhood, so as to make Colonel Prescott's ill-protected position as disagreeable and untenable as possible.

It was certainly a curious coincidence, that, in the train of human events, these weapons, which former owners would have been ready on that day, as public enemies, to bury in each other's bosoms, had occasion required it, should have

been brought, by the marriage of their descendants of the third generation, into such an amiable relation as to hang peacefully together, a principal ornament to a scholar's room fitted up expressly for literary and historical pursuits.

One who knew Prescott well may easily imagine what a field these incidents afforded for the play of his lively fancy in a genial mood; and his mood was seldom any other with his friends. I wish it were possible to give a little interest to this letter by recalling his own language in some of the many varied remarks, always spirited and entertaining, often highly interesting, and at times overflowing with his own sparkling wit, which, on different occasions, I have heard fall from his lips on the suggestion of this theme, when the attention of his guests happened to be called to his military possessions. But, alas! there was no Boswell in the company; and the spirit of the remarks has fled with that of their author, leaving behind only a cluster of impressions and associations most agreeable for friends to dwell upon, but such as can never be conveyed to others, who know him only through his published works. Yet I think you will agree with me, that even those of your Society who have never enjoyed the high pleasure of hearing his own comments on these revolutionary relics, and the anecdotes of that period which they naturally recall, or the incidents of more modern date which brought the two to be united to one hand,—members, indeed, not of the present day only, but who will fill your places in future generations, as preservers of the cherished memories of Massachusetts,—will not fail to find an especial interest in these heirlooms of departed heroes of our Revolutionary War, not merely because they are so, and thus intimately associated with a memorable day of battle, but for the further reason of new, superadded associations, derived from the place whence they *last* come, and where they constituted, for many years, objects of dear regard to a distinguished man of letters. It may be something, I fancy, even for the ear of posterity, to be able to

say of such curiosities, "Here are some of our jewels. They once armed the hands of distinguished warriors, hostilely opposed in the first great fight for American independence; but they afterwards came, by regular channels of descent and matrimonial alliance, to adorn for years the library of a great historian, of whom Massachusetts is as justly proud as of any son who ever led her military forces in the day of her great struggle. Through him they came to us."

Indeed, when we look to the remote future, let me ask, may not even a stronger assurance of permanent historical interest, attaching itself to these relics, be derived from their intimate connection with the closet of the historian, than from their former place in the battle-field where his ancestor commanded? To estimate this rightly, one need hardly be reminded that the world persists, and probably ever will, in a misnomer, already once alluded to, of this very battle-field; while in our time, nay, within half a century from the day of that battle, we have seen it questioned, and seriously controverted, who was the real commander of the raw troops assembled in the breastwork on Breed's Hill, which first taught Great Britain to respect the enemies she had created. But, while print endures, never can it be doubted who was that remarkable Bostonian, who by singular perseverance against the most discouraging obstacles, a will which could control forces more difficult to manage than those which his ancestor commanded, and a patient self-culture beyond all common example, trained his naturally brilliant but somewhat excursive qualities of mind, until he made himself, — using those words in their truest sense, — what no one denies him to have been, — one of the most eminent historians of the time in which he lived. Perhaps I might safely go one step further, without fear of being charged with exaggeration through the partiality of friendship. I think it may be truly said, that by these means, added to untiring diligence of research and a most careful sifting of his authorities, he made himself the *most*

widely celebrated historical writer of the day ; for his works are already known and held in the highest estimation by scholars, and men of letters, all over the world. Yet this is not all. This is equally true of a select number of other modern historians. But it is more peculiar to Prescott's histories, that, while so esteemed by the learned everywhere, they are, at the same time, eminently popular reading, and *that* not where the English language only is read. With such a limitation, the same might with equal truth be said of Irving, Macaulay, and some others. So, to the almost European extent of the French language, the like remark doubtless might be made concerning several highly reputed historians of that nation. But some, at least, of the histories of Prescott, have become, through manifold translation, popular reading in the vernacular of almost every country where a civilized language is spoken. They have not stopped short of the frozen regions of Russia, where a translation into the language of that country is recently announced. It is this polyglot popularity, if I may coin such a phrase, which, to so great an extent, I think may be claimed as distinctive of these remarkable productions, compared with those of any other modern historian, — of any, at least, whose writings are equal to satisfying at once the judgment of sound critics and the taste of the many, and which are found to exist, in a form readable by the many, to the extent of some one, or two, or at most, and very rarely, three living languages. Prescott's are read in at least double that number. This is surely evidence to support the claim of the *most* wide contemporaneous celebrity ; and when we add to such uncommonly diffuse popularity the consideration of sterling merits, in the judgment of the most select critics, for depth of research and accuracy of statement, adorned by a singularly captivating style, it seems hardly rash to conclude, that these works, clothed with the immortality of the printed page, will constitute a monument far more enduring than that which we have built for perpetuity, in

solid stone, on the height which Colonel Prescott so nobly defended.

The right of that glorious ancestor to be called the commander of the day, may indeed, through all time, be occasionally called into question, as it has been ; but no man assuredly will ever cast a shadow of doubt on the title of his more widely known descendant to the authority of works which are already published and distributed wherever civilization reads. Is it not, then, something more than probable, that he, of Europe or of America, whose eye may rest, at some period of the distant future, on these little memorials, with knowledge of their history, will refer his first sensation of interest to the author of the "Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella," and of all the brilliant train which followed it, before he goes back to a somewhat dimmer period to elicit a new emotion growing out of their connection with our Revolutionary annals ?

By an extract, which I have transcribed below, from the will of Mr Prescott, you will see, my dear sir, that the one of the two swords which possesses for Americans the chief historical value—that of Colonel Prescott—is bequeathed to the Massachusetts Historical Society, "as a curiosity suitable to be preserved among their collections ;" while the title of Mr. Prescott to that which came from his wife's family, and of which he may have considered himself rather a depositary than the absolute owner, is left to Mrs. Prescott to dispose of as she should think proper.

My duty, as a mere executor of Mr. Prescott's will, would be discharged, therefore, by causing to be delivered to the Society the former of these swords alone ; but I am very happy to be commissioned to add, that Mrs. Prescott and the other heirs of Captain Linzee unite in requesting me to present at the same time, in their behalf, the sword of their ancestor also, that, should such be the pleasure of the Society, the two, enriched by all the memories which now belong to them, may still hang together on its walls, as they have, through so

many years, on the walls of their late possessor, — an emblem, let us hope, of perpetual peace between kindred nations, whose opposition in arms they once represented.

Through the kind agency of our mutual friend Mr. Ticknor, who will be present at the approaching meeting of your Society, I am enabled, by his hands, to make actual delivery, on that occasion, both of the sword which now becomes its property through the will of Mr. Prescott, and of its fellow, presented by the heirs of Captain Linzee; and, with my best wishes for the continual prosperity of the Massachusetts Historical Society, I am also personally,

With the truest regard,

Your friend and servant,

W. H. GARDINER.

EXTRACT FROM MR. PRESCOTT'S WILL.

Thirteenth Item. — The sword which belonged to my grandfather, Colonel William Prescott, worn by him in the battle of Bunker Hill, I give to the Massachusetts Historical Society, as a curiosity suitable to be preserved among their collections; and the sword which belonged to my wife's grandfather, Captain Linzee, of the British Royal Navy, who commanded one of the enemy's ships during the same battle, I give to my wife.

Immediately after the reading of Mr. Gardiner's communication, the two swords which it conveyed to the Society, and which till that moment had remained covered on the officers' table, were exposed to the view of the members; and the following resolutions, offered by the President, were unanimously adopted; viz.: —

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society receive and accept with the deepest sensibility and gratitude the

swords of Colonel William Prescott and Captain Linzee, which have so long adorned the library of our late beloved associate, William H. Prescott; that we prize them as precious memorials of a period when the unhappy conflicts of kindred countries were overruled, by a merciful Providence, to the ultimate interests and advantage of both, in the establishment of American liberty and independence; that we shall ever cherish them, as our lamented friend cherished them, as touching relics of a struggle, of which all the bitterness and rancor are forgotten, and nothing but the glorious results remembered; and that we will preserve them, not only, as he preserved them, in token of the bravery and gallantry of those with whom he was united by ties of affection or of blood, but with the added and enhanced interest which must ever attach to them as having been among the peculiar treasures of one who connected the noblest achievements of literature with a family name which was already associated with the highest distinctions of the forum and of the field.

Resolved, That the Standing Committee be instructed, in connection with the Cabinet-keeper, to arrange the swords of Colonel Prescott and Captain Linzee in a conspicuous place in our halls, crossing each other as they were crossed in the library of our lamented friend, and with a suitable and legible inscription setting forth their history to the time at which they were presented to this Society, and the circumstances under which they were received.

Resolved, That attested copies of these resolutions, signed by the President and Recording Secretary, be communicated to Mrs. William H. Prescott, and to William H. Gardiner, Esq., the friend and executor of the late accomplished historian, with an expression of our best thanks for the most acceptable and obliging manner in which the kindness of the living has co-operated with the expressed wishes of the dead in intrusting to the guardianship of this Society these precious historical memorials.

Before the adoption of the resolutions, Mr. TICKNOR, on rising to second them, gave utterance, in a very touching manner, to the feelings which the communication of Mr. Gardiner had awakened; confirming and illustrating with great force the allusion made by Mr. Gardiner to the *patient and persevering self-culture, beyond all common example*, by which Mr. Prescott had made himself one of the most eminent of historians and estimable of men.

Mr. SEARS read the following letter from Mr. J. Lothrop Motley, of this Society, to his friend William Amory, Esq., written at the moment of his receiving the intelligence of the death of Mr. Prescott:—

Letter from J. Lothrop Motley.

ROME, 26th February, 1859.

MY DEAR AMORY,—This is the first post-day from this place for America since we heard of Prescott's death. Two or three days ago, I had been holding "Galignani's Messenger" in my hand for a quarter of an hour, looking from one column to another rather listlessly, when all at once my eye fell upon a single line of a telegraph communication announcing this fatal event. You may imagine how suddenly and deeply affected we were by this unexpected intelligence; for every account that I had been able to procure for a year past had led me to the conclusion, that many years of happy and vigorous life were before him. I shall not say more of the effect produced within our own household by the news. Many tears have been shed for him in distant parts of the world; for it was impossible for any man or woman, that had ever enjoyed the

privilege of his intimate acquaintance, not to feel that in his death they had sustained a severe personal loss; for it was the great characteristic of Prescott, that he always inspired affection. I never in my life heard any one, that knew him, speak of him except with warm expressions of personal attachment. Every one was proud of him, every one admired him, and all those who had the honor of his acquaintance loved him. It seemed that envy, which is so apt to haunt the steps of an illustrious man like his shadow, had been unable to fasten upon him. No one, who had looked upon his gentle, charming countenance, and been warmed in the sunshine of his most genial and sympathetic smile, and knew the frank, unaffected, sincere, faithful, generous qualities of his whole nature, could help participating, as it were, with him, in the enjoyment of his triumphs, instead of feeling any wish to detract from his nobly gained reputation.

I have not the slightest inclination, in writing to you on this occasion, my dear Amory, to pronounce a eulogy upon your friend and brother; but I feel, for my own relief, an absolute necessity of speaking to you about him. I do not feel authorized to intrude upon the sacred grief of your sister's desolate fireside; for I know that there all language, even the words of praise and affection, is an idle mockery. Those nearest and dearest to him know best the bitterness of their own hearts; and I feel that it would be a profanation on my part to address myself personally to them. But you, whom I am proud to call my dear and intimate friend, know how deeply I valued and honored Prescott; and you will be willing, I am sure, whenever and in whatever way you think proper, to express to your sister the deep personal sorrow which both my wife and myself feel in his loss.

I don't wish to speak to you of him as an author: my heart is too full of the man and the friend to think of the historian. Besides, it would be quite superfluous, almost an impertinence, to talk about his literary celebrity. Wherever the English

language is spoken,—over the whole earth,—his name is perfectly familiar. We all of us know what his place was in America. But I can also say, that, in eight years passed abroad, I never met a single educated person, of whatever nation, that was not well acquainted with his fame, and hardly one who had not read his works. No living American name is so widely spread over the whole world. I do not know whether he was himself aware—a fact which I have not long since become acquainted with—that his works were translated into the Russian language, and well known in that country. Of course, in all the more civilized tongues, they have long since been part and parcel of each national literature.

I feel inexpressibly disappointed—speaking now, for an instant, purely from a literary point of view—that the noble and crowning monument of his life, for which he had laid such massive foundations, and the structure of which had been carried forward in such a grand and masterly manner, must remain uncompleted, like the unfinished peristyle of some stately and beautiful temple on which the night of time has suddenly descended. But, still, the works which his great and untiring hand had already thoroughly finished will remain to attest his learning and genius,—a precious and perpetual possession for his country.

But, as I have already said, I do not wish to talk about him as the great author. I deeply regret that I cannot be with you now, that we might talk together for hours over his noble and genial and winning qualities of mind and heart. You know how kind and generous and sympathetic he always was to me, from the first moment that I had decided to enroll myself in the profession of which he was then one of the world's acknowledged chiefs. *You* may not remember the circumstances; which, however, I have often mentioned to you: but, when *I* forget them, I hope that my right hand may forget its cunning.

It seems to me but as yesterday—though it must be now

twelve years ago — that I was talking with our ever-lamented friend Stackpole about my intention of writing a history upon a subject to which I have since that time been devoting myself. I had then made already some general studies in reference to it, without being in the least aware that Prescott had the intention of writing the history of Philip II. Stackpole had heard the fact, and that large preparations had already been made for the work, although "Peru" had not yet been published. I felt naturally much disappointed. I was conscious of the immense disadvantage to myself of making my appearance, probably at the same time, before the public with a work not at all similar in plan to Philip II., but which must, of necessity, traverse a portion of the same ground. My first thought was, inevitably, as it were, only of myself. It seemed to me that I had nothing to do but to abandon at once a cherished dream, and probably to renounce authorship; for I had not first made up my mind to write a history, and then cast about to take up a subject. My subject had taken up me, drawn me on, and absorbed me into itself. It was necessary for me, it seemed, to write the book I had been thinking much of, even if it were destined to fall dead from the press; and I had no inclination or interest to write any other. When I had made up my mind accordingly, it then occurred to me that Prescott might not be pleased that I should come forward upon his ground. It is true that no announcement of his intentions had been made, and that he had not, I believe, even commenced his preliminary studies for Philip. At the same time, I thought it would be disloyal on my part not to go to him at once, confer with him on the subject, and, if I should find *a shadow of dissatisfaction* on his mind at my proposition, to abandon my plan altogether.

I had only the slightest acquaintance with him at that time. I was comparatively a young man, and certainly not entitled on any ground to more than common courtesy, which Prescott never could refuse any one; but he received me

with such a frank and ready and liberal sympathy, and such an open-hearted, guileless expansiveness, that I felt a personal affection for him from that hour. I remember the interview as if it had taken place yesterday. It was in his father's house, in his own library, looking on the garden. House and garden, honored father and illustrious son, alas! all numbered with the things that were. He assured me that he had not the slightest objection whatever to my plan; that he wished me every success; and that, if there were any books in his library, bearing on my subject, that I liked to use, they were entirely at my service. After I had expressed my gratitude for his kindness and cordiality, by which I had been in a very few moments set completely at ease, so far as my fears of his disapprobation went, I also very naturally stated my opinion, that the danger was entirely mine, and that it was rather wilful of me thus to risk such a collision at my first venture, the probable consequence of which was utter shipwreck. I recollect how kindly and warmly he combated this opinion; assuring me that no two books, as he said, ever injured each other, and encouraging me in the warmest and most earnest manner to proceed on the course I had marked out for myself.

Had the result of that interview been different; had he distinctly stated, or even vaguely hinted, that it would be as well if I should select some other topic; or had he only sprinkled me with the cold water of conventional and commonplace encouragement, — I should have gone from him with a chill upon my mind, and, no doubt, have laid down the pen at once; for, as I have already said, it was not that I cared about writing *a* history, but that I felt an inevitable impulse to write *one particular history*.

You know how kindly he always spoke of and to me; and the generous manner in which, without the slightest hint from me, and entirely unexpected by me, he attracted the eyes of his hosts of readers to my forthcoming work, by so

handsomely alluding to it in the preface to his own, must be almost as fresh in your memory as it is in mine. And although it seems easy enough for a man of world-wide reputation thus to extend the right hand of fellowship to an unknown and struggling aspirant, yet I fear that the history of literature will show that such instances of disinterested kindness are as rare as they are noble.

I have said enough upon this theme ; but I do not apologize for egotism, for it is *not* egotism. I wished to illustrate, by a matter very important to me personally, many very prominent characteristics in our friend's nature, — generosity, ready power of sympathizing, truthfulness, frankness, too bright for any disguise. No mask ever hid that most sunny and attractive face from the world's eyes ; and those who knew him the best and the longest loved him the most. It seems to me impossible to think of Boston without Prescott, as if the place was no longer the same. There are many great men over whom the earth can close like water, and leave no trace of their appearance ; but it seems as if the whole heart of our community must be wounded by such a calamity as his death, and that a shadow must come over every household. Every one in America and out of America honored and admired him ; but, in Boston, every one loved him.

For myself, when I reflect that I shall never again press his friendly hand, and listen to his kind and gentle voice, and enjoy his most delightful companionship, I feel that I, too, have lost what can never be restored to me, and that I have a right to claim my part in the great sorrow which has befallen us all.

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Believe me, my dear Amory,

Ever most sincerely your friend,

(Signed)

J. L. MOTLEY.

Dr. BLAGDEN, of the Committee for nominating officers, reported the following list; and the persons therein named were elected:—

President.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D. BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

JARED SPARKS, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

HON. DAVID SEARS, A.M. BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D. BOSTON.

Corresponding Secretary.

JOSEPH WILLARD, A.M. BOSTON.

Treasurer.

HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, JUN., A.M. CHARLESTOWN.

Librarian.

REV. SAMUEL K. LOTHROP, D.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-Keeper.

NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, M.D. BOSTON.

Standing Committee.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

HON. LORENZO SABINE, A.M. ROXBURY.

CHARLES DEANE, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

HON. SOLOMON LINCOLN, A.M. HINGHAM.

HENRY A. WHITNEY, A.M. BOSTON.

Resolved, That the cordial thanks of the Society be presented to Edward Belknap, Esq., for his thoughtful liberality in furnishing at his own charge, for the volume of Proceedings just printed, the engravings of Washington, and of their respected founder, Dr. Belknap, from the original portraits in his possession.

Resolved, That the Standing Committee be directed to present the thanks of the Society to the other gentlemen who have generously contributed towards the other illustrations in this volume of Proceedings.

Mr. WARREN, from the Publishing Committee, reported that progress had been made in the preparation of a new volume of the Collections.

Voted, That the Committee on the Treasurer's accounts — viz., Messrs. Bowditch, William Appleton, and Sturgis — be authorized to make such expenditures for the security of the Society's building against fire as they may deem to be necessary.

SPECIAL MEETING.

A special meeting of the Society was held this evening, April 28, at the house of the Hon. R. C. Winthrop. The members were called to order by the President, at eight o'clock, who introduced the business of the meeting by a few remarks, and the reading of the following letter from Sir Robert Carr, Knt., one of the Commis-

sioners with Richard Nicholls, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, in 1664, "for inquiry, and to establish bounds," &c. This letter was furnished by Richard Almack, Esq., from the original in his possession. It is addressed "to the Right Honble the Earle of Lauderdale, Secretary to his Ma'tie for the Kingdom of Scotland," and bears date, Boston, Dec. 5, 1665.

MY LORD, — May it please your lordship, I had, by letter by Colonel Cartwright, given you a large account of our transactions here, and put your lordship to the trouble of being assistant to me in a business of mine own; but, hearing Colonel Cartwright is taken by a Dutch privateer, I make bold to give you a summary account of some of those things I wrote to you by him. In the first place, concerning Duke Hamilton his patent. It was never heard of in these parts until we showed a copy of it; for the duke never sent over agent, servant, or planter. Some part of it was granted to the Lord Say and others, and bought of them by Connecticut, and since granted by his majesty to that Colony of Connecticut by patent: and some part is now belonging to his majesty, called the King's Province; and the north part of it lies within the line of the Massachusetts, as Colonel Cartwright can let you see by a map.

If the king would take the lands lying east to Connecticut River, and join it with Rhode Island to the King's Province, it would make a good receptacle for the king's loyal subjects, and be a great stop to the Massachusetts if they should rebel. Rhode-Island Colony is so full of faction, and so void of men fit to govern, — for there is, beside the Governor and Deputy-Governor (betwixt whom, to my knowledge, there is a great feud), not one fit to make a governor of; which is the reason they are every year chosen, — that the generality would be glad they were all under his majesty's government.

On the east side of Merrimack River, one Mr. Mason lays claim to a Province, which should have been called New Hampshire; but it is under the Massachusetts at present. In it are divers small patents. Mr. Mason made Colonel Nicolls his attorney; who because he is tied to attend the Dutch's attempt against New York, and could not be here, we acted nothing. Beyond Piscataqua River, where Mr. Mason's patent ends, Mr. Gorges' begins, and reaches to Sagadahoc; in which likewise are many small patents. They were under the Massachusetts' usurpation, and, being exceedingly tormented betwixt the contradicting authorities of the Massachusetts and Mr. Gorges, petitioned us to be relieved: whereupon we have taken them under the king's government until his pleasure be further shown. In this Province are the best masts and ship-timber to be had. If the king would satisfy the pretenders to these patents some other ways, and take these under his own government, and call them the Queen's Province, in a very short time it might be a very great advantage to his majesty's shipping; and, if it be not so, the timber will be spoiled, and the country never peopled. These people here in these Provinces were very earnest with me that I should be their governor, and would have altered their petition to the king; but Colonel Cartwright could not stay, who can give your lordship a further account than I can by writing. If the king will take these under his own government, I shall serve his majesty as faithfully as any he shall set over them; and I hope your lordship will acquaint his majesty with it, and stand my friend at this distance. My lord, we hear that Delaware is given away; by which I shall lose that for the getting of which I hazarded my life: wherefore I pray your lordship to procure from the king a grant of the land lying from Corressit, south and south-west to a river called Sagatucket, running into the sea about Point Judith, in the King's Province, in New England, for me; that after so dangerous a voyage and so troublesome an employment,

for which we have received but little, I may have a place to settle in, which I will endeavor to get planted as soon and as fast as I can. My Lord, some person or other hath cast some aspersion upon me (as I am informed), and represented it to my lord chancellor, whereby it hath come to his majesty's hearing; and I understand his majesty is therefore dissatisfied concerning me. But I doubt not to make it appear to be falsely and maliciously cast upon me: wherefore I presumed to send a letter, to be presented to his majesty, about my vindication, the copy whereof is here enclosed. Those who did oppose my coming may think to find out a way for my removal; but I doubt not to give his majesty such satisfaction whereby he will find that I am not such a person as I am reported. Be pleased, my lord, to use your best endeavor to possess his majesty with a good opinion of me, who have been always so faithful in the service both of his father of blessed memory and of his royal self, as also in this present employment, and, as time and opportunity shall present, still shall remain. And acknowledge myself,

My lord, your lordship's faithful servant,

ROBERT CARR.

Boston, Dec. 5, 1665.

I have also, here enclosed, sent you a copy of a petition which I sent by Colonel Cartwright; and also have renewed it, and requested Mr. Secretary Bennet to present it to his majesty if that have miscarried.

The President exhibited a copy of De Foe's "Essay on Projects," — the existence of which book had been recently disputed, — which he had obtained at an auction-sale in Boston a short time ago, and purposed to deposit in the Society's library.

Mr. TICKNOR called the attention of the meeting to a work recently published in Philadelphia, entitled "A New History of the Conquest of Mexico," by Robert Anderson Wilson; which has been somewhat noticed in the newspapers, but has been received with a considerable feeling of distrust. He remarked, that —

An author who, like Mr. Wilson, maintains that the civilization of Mexico came from Phœnicia before the time of Moses, and that all the accounts of the Spanish conquest, usually relied upon,—from the manly despatches of Cortes, down to the marvellously learned and philosophical travels of Humboldt and the brilliant and conscientious history of Prescott,—are either wild fictions, or the results of belief in such fictions, cannot himself, one would think, expect to find his path to general favor very smooth.

Of the curt and decisive way in which Mr. Wilson sees fit to contradict such illustrious predecessors as those just mentioned, or of the details of his narrative, and of the discussions by which he would sustain it, we do not propose to speak at all. That ground is well covered by two articles in the "Atlantic Monthly" for April and May, written with ample knowledge of the subject, with pungency and ability. But we wish to say a word about Mr. Wilson's general trustworthiness as an historian. The claims he puts forth are very bold; and he will not, therefore, object to having them tested under the two heads of his *fairness* and of his *learning*; in other words, of his fitness to do what he has undertaken to do.

Many instances may be found of his want of fairness; but we shall confine ourselves to one,—the case of Dr. Robertson, the author of the History of America and of Charles V.

Mr. Wilson tells us, in one of his notes, that his father had been adopted into the family of the head of the Iroquois Indians; and he elsewhere intimates, that he regards himself, in some sort, as a party concerned in whatever relates to the honor of that remarkable nation of savages. He goes out of his way, therefore, to make an attack on Dr. Robertson for saying that the Iroquois, at an earlier period than that in which he wrote his "History of America," were, like many other of the natives of this continent, accustomed sometimes to satiate their revenge by eating their enemies. Mr. Wilson's words are, "Dr. Robertson, Principal of the University [High School] of Edinburgh, has immortalized himself by *informing* the world that the Iroquois [the Six Nations] eat human flesh." And then he goes on treating the historian as if he had either invented this charge, or taken it, lightly and without sufficient inquiry, on the authority of "a Jesuitical author." If he refers, as he probably does, to Charlevoix, — a learned and excellent man, who was at one time a missionary in this part of the American continent, — we can only say, the statements of Charlevoix are ample; and that we feel assured nobody can read his account of the horrors that accompanied the deaths of Father Brebeuf and Father Lalemant, and their being eaten by Iroquois, in 1649, without being assured of its truth. But there is no need of going so far, and to a book somewhat uncommon. It is only necessary to look into the "Relation," printed at Paris in 1666, and republished in 1858 at Quebec, under the auspices of the Canadian Government, in order to feel equally sure, that, in 1661, the Sieur Brigeart was, with circumstances of atrocity too shocking to be repeated, roasted alive and devoured by a party of Iroquois, under no pretext of hunger; for they had just been making "grande chère de leur chasse." Indeed, there is no doubt of the fact, that, in the early period of our knowledge of the northern part of our continent, the Iroquois, like other of our fierce savages, sometimes became cannibals

from an insatiable revenge. Mr. Wilson wishes to degrade Dr. Robertson for stating this fact in the very mild and cautious way he does, and would have us believe that this most respectable historian has asserted that the Iroquois had continued cannibals, when they had been "allies of the British crown two hundred years;" although, both in his text and in his notes, Dr. Robertson says that the practice had long ceased when he wrote, which was about 1775-77. Now, a person who treats history in this way is too prejudiced, or too careless, or too ignorant, or all three, to be trusted. He does not deserve the name of an historian. He is the calumniator he would persuade us to think Dr. Robertson to be.

But the task Mr. Wilson took upon himself is not only one that demanded fairness, but it is one that demanded learning. Had he, then, the learning he needed? We might, perhaps, safely leave the answer of this question to the articles in the "Atlantic Monthly," already referred to, where many instances of gross ignorance, in great things as well as small, are pointed out and exposed. But there is one case so decisive, that we wish to note it separately: it is that of Bernal Diaz del Castillo, the chronicler of the conquest. No book, in relation to the early history of the Spanish invasion of Mexico, has been more relied on than his; for it was written by one who claimed to have fought through all its battles, and who, in his old age, sat down, and gave in great detail, and with that genuine simplicity which is the seal of truth, a history of the whole of it; one main purpose that he had being to correct the accounts of Gomara, which the clear-headed veteran deemed too favorable to Cortez, whose secretary Gomara was. Such a work, of course, stood directly in the way of a person like Mr. Wilson, who, in order to maintain his theories about Mexico, was obliged to deny all the received accounts of that extraordinary event, and especially those of Bernal Diaz. After some consideration, he seems to have made up his mind that the cheapest and

shortest way was to declare boldly that no such man had ever existed; or, to use his own words, he "with much deliberation concluded to denounce Bernal Diaz as a myth."

No doubt Mr. Wilson felt himself tolerably safe in this decisive assertion; for, to most persons who are in the habit of reading Spanish books, hardly any thing is known of the sturdy old *conquistador*, except what he has himself told us: and this is testimony not to be accepted, when the very existence of the person is called in question; for, if Bernal Diaz never lived, he can never have written the book that bears his name.

But there is, happily, external testimony in the case, and enough of it. A fresh edition of the old chronicler's work was published at Madrid, in 1853, in the twenty-sixth volume of the "*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*," and was edited by Don Enrique de Vedia, a scholar who has heretofore interested himself in America and in American literature. In the preface to this edition, Don Enrique says, that, about the year 1689, Don Francisco de Fuentes y Guzman wrote a "*History of Guatemala*," of which the first portion, in two manuscript volumes, was then before him (Don Enrique de Vedia); that, in this history, Don Francisco de Fuentes says, with many expressions of affection, that Bernal Diaz was his great-grandfather, and that the original manuscript of his history of the conquest was still preserved; and showed differences from the printed copy, especially in chaps. clxiv. and clxxi. These facts Mr. Wilson ought to have known; for they were published to the world six years before he had the hardihood to assert that no such man as Bernal Diaz had ever existed.

But this is not all. The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, a French gentleman of much learning, has been long interested in the traditions of savage life on this continent, and especially those of its central portions. He was Professor at the Seminary of Quebec in 1845. In 1848, he went to Mexico, and became connected there with the French mission

of Mons. Levasseur, and travelled much about the country and among the natives, studying their languages and manners, till 1851. From 1851 to 1854, he was in Paris and Rome, and made careful researches connected with his American studies; and, from 1854 to the beginning of 1857, he was in Mexico again, and in Guatamala, making fresh and more elaborate local investigations. This gentleman, thus qualified for his task, printed in Paris, in 1857 and 1858, the first three volumes, and, in this year (1859), the fourth and last, of his "*Histoire des Nations Civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale, durant les siècles antérieurs à Christophe Colomb*," which he brings down, so far as the native Indians are concerned, to the completion of the Spanish conquest of Mexico. In this work, which is full of learning, drawn from original sources and unpublished materials, it is almost needless to say that the Abbé de Bourbourg concurs with the accounts to which we have heretofore trusted, from the time of Cortes to that of Prescott; carrying his investigations, however, much more into detail than anybody has done before him. Still he is not satisfied; and is now, probably, embarked anew for Mexico, in order to pursue still further the subject which has so long been with him not merely an earnest pursuit, but a passion.

On his way to Mexico, the Abbé de Bourbourg lately passed through Boston, where we had already enjoyed the pleasure of seeing him in 1854. He stopped here only a very short time; and we did not know he was in town until he called upon us the day before his departure. But we at once spoke to him of Mr. Wilson's book, which he had not seen, and gave him a copy of it; desiring him, at the same time, to put on paper certain facts relating to Bernal Diaz, which he had mentioned in our conversation. The same evening he wrote us a note, which we received after he was gone, and from which the following is a translation of the

portion relating to Bernal Diaz. It is dated, Boston, 25th April, 1859.

“I have the honor to address you herewith what you asked of me this morning concerning Bernal Diaz. Not having my books or my notes at hand, I must content myself with putting down from memory what, at the moment, occurs to my recollection.

“Bernal Diaz del Castillo was among the soldiers who landed with Cortes at Vera Cruz, and remained afterwards with him. His name appears in a great number of official Acts still extant. It was Bernal Diaz who stood sentinel at the entrance of the Spanish camp when the envoys from Cempoalla presented themselves there. In the legal process instituted against Cortes by his enemies, some years after the taking of Mexico, the name of Bernal Diaz appears as one of the witnesses for the defence. Later he is to be traced among the Spaniards who established themselves in Central America; and he was, for many years, Corregidor of the city of Guatemala. It was there that he wrote his History; and *the autograph manuscript, signed by his own hand, is carefully preserved by that municipality among its archives, where I have seen and examined it more than once.*

“His signature is often shown among the signatures of the members of the *Cabildo* [the Corporation] of Guatemala, whose records still exist. He died in that city, old, and complaining of his poverty.”

Our simple-hearted and picturesque chronicler, therefore, not only had a descendant, in the third generation, who was fondly attached to his ancestor's memory; but the autograph manuscript of his ancestor's remarkable book, and many of his autograph signatures to official documents, officially preserved, have survived all the revolutions of the unhappy country, the affairs of whose capital city he long administered. This is certainly pretty well for “*a myth.*”

But, to be serious, an author who, like Mr. Wilson, makes the boldest assertions, and then is obliged to run for luck in order to find evidence that he may hope will support them; who has so little fairness or judgment, as is shown by his

treatment of Dr. Robertson, and so little knowledge or spirit of inquiry, as he has shown in the case of Bernal Diaz, — can really have no claim to the character of an historian. Still less has he the right to speak in any tone, except one of perfect deference, when he mentions such names as those of Baron Humboldt and Mr. Prescott.

A brief discussion was held with regard to the solemnization of marriages, in the early period of the history of New England, by magistrates, and not by clergymen.

Mr. SAVAGE stated that he had discovered no record of a marriage performed by a clergyman prior to 1686, except in Gorges' Province, by a clergyman of the Church of England.

Mr. BRIGHAM remarked, that there was no provision on the subject in general law in Massachusetts till 1647, and in Plymouth till 1671.

Mr. ELLIS referred to a passage in Milton's treatise of Christian doctrine, in which marriage is considered as a civil and not a religious rite.

Mr. ASPINWALL alluded to the Protestant principle, that marriage is not a sacrament.

Mr. WINTHROP quoted the following sentence from Winthrop's "History of New England:" —

"1647, 4, 4th day, 6th month. There was a great marriage to be solemnized at Boston. The bridegroom being of Hingham, Mr. Hubbard's church, he was procured to preach, and came to Boston to that end. But the magistrates, hearing of it, sent to him to forbear. The reasons were, 1. For that his spirit had been discovered to be averse to our eccle-

siastical and civil government; and he was a bold man, and would speak his mind. 2. We were not willing to bring in the English custom of ministers performing the solemnities of marriage, which sermons at such times might induce; but if any ministers were present, and would bestow a word of exhortation, &c., it was permitted."

Mr. SIBLEY exhibited a miniature, supposed to be of General Washington, in relation to which he read a letter which had been addressed to him by Dr. White, of Dedham.

Dr. FROTHINGHAM remarked, that he had not been privileged to be present at the last meeting of the Society; which he much regretted, on account of its interesting transactions. Among his regrets at what he had lost, there had sprung into his mind the thought, that the very interesting event which had especially signalized that meeting admitted, and seemed to solicit, poetical treatment. He had yielded to the solicitation, and now ventured to offer what his Muse had permitted him to prepare:—

THE CROSSED SWORDS,

TRANSFERRED FROM MR. PRESCOTT'S LIBRARY TO THAT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Swords crossed, — but not in strife!
The chiefs who drew them, parted by the space
Of two proud countries' quarrel, face to face
Ne'er stood for death or life.

Swords crossed, that never met
While nerve was in the hands that wielded them;
Hands better destined a fair family stem
On these free shores to set.

Kept crossed by gentlest bands !
Emblems no more of battle, but of peace ;
And proofs how loves can grow and wars can cease,
Their once stern symbol stands.

It smiled first on the array
Of marshalled books and friendliest companies ;
And here, a history among histories,
It still shall smile for aye.

See that thou memory keep
Of him, the firm commander ; and that other,
The stainless judge ; and him, our peerless brother, —
All fallen now asleep.

Yet more : a lesson teach,
To cheer the patriot-soldier in his course,
That Right shall triumph o'er insolent Force :
That be your silent speech.

Oh, be prophetic too !
And may those nations twain, as sign and seal
Of endless amity, hang up their steel,
As we these weapons do !

The archives of the Past,
So smeared with blots of hate and bloody wrong,
Pining for peace, and sick to wait so long,
Hail this meek cross at last.

Mr. ROBBINS presented to the Society a small but admirable portrait of Dr. John Lathrop, pastor of the Second Church in Boston from 1768 to 1816 ; a gift from our associate, Francis Parkman.

Mr. LOTHROP communicated a letter addressed to him by the Rev. John Waddington, Pastor of the Congregational Church, Union Street, Southwark, Eng.,

now in this country, and present at this meeting by special invitation, in relation to his purpose of raising a memorial church-edifice, in Southwark, from the joint contributions of the friends of religious freedom in England and America.

On motion of Mr. ROBBINS, the communication of Mr. Waddington was referred to a Special Committee, consisting of Messrs. Lothrop, Blagden, and Quint.

MAY MEETING.

The Society held their stated monthly meeting on Thursday, May 12, at noon; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the State of Connecticut; the State of Rhode Island; the Royal Society of Antiquaries; the Smithsonian Institution; Tennessee State Library; the Chicago Historical Society; the New-York Agricultural Society; the Trustees of the Peabody Institute; Union College, Schenectady; General De Peyster; Winthrop Sargent, Esq.; Richard Warren, Esq.; Rev. Caleb D. Bradlee; L. A. Huguet Latour, Esq.; James Lenox, Esq.; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; and from Messrs. Deane, Lamson, Quint, Robbins, Sibley, Washburn, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Cabinet-keeper announced several donations to the cabinet, amongst which is a bust of Voltaire in plaster.

The Corresponding Secretary communicated letters from Henry D. Gilpin, Esq.; William Durrant Cooper, F.S.A.; and General William H. Sumner.

The President communicated a letter from George H. Moore, Esq., Librarian of the New-York Historical Society, with a copy of the earliest "Plan of New York" known to be extant, and which bears a date more than thirty years earlier than any hitherto discovered.

HON. ROBERT HALLOWELL GARDINER was elected an Honorary Member, REV. LORD ARTHUR HERVEY and HORATIO GATES SOMERBY, Esq., Corresponding Members, and HON. JOEL PARKER and WILLIAMS LATHAM, Esq., Resident Members, of the Society.

The President nominated Messrs. Livermore, Robbins, and Deane a Committee on the subject of exchanges of the Society's publications, with full powers; and they were so elected.

MR. LIVERMORE announced the donation to the Society, from Amos A. Lawrence, Esq., of a large and very valuable collection of manuscripts, rare historical pamphlets, and ancient newspapers; being the collection of Major-General William Heath, and covering the entire period of the Revolutionary War. The manuscripts are chronologically arranged, and bound in twenty-six volumes, besides two volumes of orderly-books. They contain letters from John Adams, Samuel Adams, Benedict Arnold, Governor Bowdoin, General Burgoyne, Governor Clinton, General Clinton, Baron De Kalb, Judge Dana, Elbridge Gerry, General Gates, General Greene, John Hancock, Alexander Hamilton, Kosciusko, General Knox, General Lincoln, General Lee, Lafayette, Timothy

Pickering, Colonel Prescott, General Putnam, Paul Revere, General Schuyler, Lord Stirling, Baron Steuben, Charles Thompson, Colonel Trumbull, General Wayne, and from other distinguished persons in civil or military service at that period, including several hundred letters of Washington.

The pamphlets are bound in six volumes, and the newspapers in eleven volumes, printed between the years 1764 and 1818.

The donation was accompanied by the following letter:—

SEWALL'S POINT, May 9, 1859.

MY DEAR SIR,— The first knowledge I obtained of the Heath Papers was from Mr. Sparks, who had inspected them in writing his "Life of Washington." This was in 1837. After considerable delay, and hesitation on the part of the heirs of General Heath, I obtained them during the next year, upon condition that "they should never be separated."

In so large a collection of letters and papers, only a small proportion can be supposed to possess any historical value; but, taken together, they will be found to convey a more accurate knowledge of the manner in which the operations of the Revolutionary War were carried on, and of the means employed, than can be derived from the perusal of more formal documents.

When first purchased, the papers were in chests, without order. After arranging them chronologically, I had them bound, and added an index of the letters to each volume.

It affords me pleasure to present them, through you, to the Massachusetts Historical Society, imposing only the condition made by those from whom they were received. With great regard, your obedient servant,

AMOS A. LAWRENCE.

GEORGE LIVERMORE, Esq., Cambridge.

Memorandum of Books.

1. Two volumes of orderly-books, containing a record of orders given, and of transactions in camp, between 1776 and 1783.
2. Twenty-six volumes of letters, — official and other papers.
3. Six volumes of pamphlets.
2. Eleven volumes of newspapers printed between 1764 and 1818.
Forty-five volumes in all. Also a copy of the indices.

Mr. SPARKS congratulated the Society on their coming into possession, through the considerate liberality of Mr. Lawrence, of this important collection. He stated that he had personally examined the papers some years ago, before they had been arranged in their present excellent order. The manuscripts covered the entire period of the Revolutionary War, during the whole of which General Heath was in the service of his country; and they were, many of them, of great value to the student of American history. He proceeded to give a sketch of the military career of the General, from its commencement in the time of the Stamp Act to its close; and paid a discriminating tribute to his merits as a soldier and a man.

With a view of showing the opinion which General Washington entertained of the services of General Heath, and the sentiments with which he regarded him, Mr. Sparks read the following letter: —

HEAD QUARTERS, June 24, 1783.

[Private.]

DEAR SIR, — Previous to your departure from the army, I wish to take an opportunity of expressing my sentiments of your services, my obligations for your assistance, and my wishes for your future felicity.

Our object is at last attained, the arrangements are almost completed, and the day of separation is now at hand. Permit me, therefore, to thank you for the trouble you have lately taken in the arrangement of the corps under your orders, as well as for all your former cheerful and able exertions in the public service.

Suffer me to offer this last testimony of my regard to your merits; and give me leave, my dear sir, to assure you of the real affection and esteem with which I am, and shall at all times and under all circumstances continue to be,

Your sincere friend and very humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Major-General HEATH.

In closing his remarks, Mr. Sparks offered the following resolution; viz.:—

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be communicated to Amos A. Lawrence, Esq., for this most acceptable and valuable donation of the papers of the late Major-General Heath; and that the President be requested to assure him, that the Society appreciate this gratifying manifestation of his interest in the important objects for which it was established.

Mr. R. FROTHINGHAM, jun., on seconding the resolution, referred particularly to the special value of this collection in supplying materials, in detail, for the construction of accurate narrative. At the request of the Standing Committee, he had partially examined this collection. Much of it was in itself of great historical value; but here, in names, dates, and varied minutiae, were the most authentic material for life-like narratives of Revolutionary scenes.

It would be impossible to do any thing like justice to

this invaluable collection by a brief description: but it might be appropriate to the occasion of their reception to designate a few of the papers; and, for this purpose, Mr. Frothingham selected the first volume of the manuscripts.

The first document in the collection is of a peculiar character, as it relates to the celebrated Suffolk Convention of 1774: —

ROXBURY, Aug. 18, 1774.

GENTLEMEN, — A meeting of gentlemen from every town and district in the county of Suffolk, except Weymouth, Cohasset, Needham, and Chelsea, was held at Colonel Doty's, in Stoughton, on Tuesday, the 16th current, to consult what measures were proper to be taken by the people of the county at this most important and alarming crisis of our public affairs. But, as several towns had not appointed delegates for the special purposes of a county meeting, they did not think proper to proceed to complete the business proposed; but, in order that the proceedings of such a meeting might be more valid and authentic, they came unanimously into the following resolve, and appointed a Committee to transmit the same to every town and district in the county; viz.: —

“Whereas it appears to us that the Parliament of Great Britain, in violation of the faith of the nation, have, in direct infraction of the Charter of this Province, contrary to Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and the natural constitutional claim of British subjects, by an Act called the Boston Port Bill, a Bill for amending the Charter of the Province, and another for the Impartial Administration of Justice, with all the parade and ostentation of law and justice, attempted to reduce this Colony to an unparalleled state of slavery; and whereas the several Colonies on this continent, being justly and properly alarmed with this lawless and tyrannical exertion of power, have entered into combinations for our relief, and published sundry resolutions, which we are determined to abide by in support of common interest: —

"We earnestly recommend to our brethren of the several towns and districts in this county to appoint members to attend a county convention for Suffolk, at the house of Mr. Woodward, innholder, in Dedham, on Tuesday, the sixth day of September next, at ten o'clock, before noon, to deliberate and determine upon all such matters as the distressed circumstance of this Province may require. We therefore transmit the same to you, to be laid before your town, to act thereon as you may think proper; and we beg leave to add our request, that the gentlemen who may be chosen by your town would be very punctual to the hour proposed for the convention, as it [is] very probable the business will take up the rest of that day.

"We are your humble servant, by order of Committee,

"NATH. PATTEN.

"To the Gentlemen Selectmen for the town of Roxbury."

An abstract only of the following interesting paper appears in Heath's "Memoirs," where it is stated that this report was made on the 20th of March, 1775. There is no record of the presentation of this paper in the journals of the Provincial Congress, which adjourned on the sixteenth day of February and re-assembled on the twenty-second day of March: * —

The Committee appointed to make a minute inquiry into the present state of the operations of the (British) army have attended that service, and report the following state of facts; viz.: —

The army at present consists of about 2850 men, encamped as follows: —

On Boston Common, about	1700
On Fort Hill	400
On Boston Neck	340
In the barracks at Castle William	330
Quartered in King Street	80
	2850

* Journals of Provincial Congress, p. 109.

That two mud breastworks have been erected by them on Boston Neck, at the distance of about ninety or one hundred rods in front of the old fortification; the works well constructed and well executed. The thickness of the merlons, or parapet, about nine feet; the height, about eight feet. The width of the ditch at the top, about twelve feet; at the bottom, five feet; the depth, ten feet. These works are nearly completed, and at present mounted with ten brass and two iron cannon. A barrack is erecting behind the breastwork, on the north side of the Neck.

The old fortification at the entrance of the town of Boston is repairing, and greatly strengthened by the addition of timber and earth to the walls, of the thickness of about twelve feet. These works are in considerable forwardness; and, at present, ten pieces of iron cannon are mounted on the old platforms. A blockhouse, brought from Governor's Island, is erecting on the south side of the Neck, at the distance of about forty or fifty rods from the old fortification. This work is but just begun.

That, on the 18th instant, colors were planted, and afterwards stakes put down, near the salt-pond (so called), on Boston Neck, in a parallel line from the dike on the south side to the dike on the north side of the Neck; but that, on the night following, the stakes were taken away by some person or persons unknown. This, as a major of one of the regiments declared, was for no other purpose than to make some observations and to ascertain some distances.

That on the morning of yesterday, being the 19th instant, it was reported that a standard was erected on a hill on Dorchester side, opposite to the old fortification, which alarmed the inhabitants of the town of Boston; upon which, several gentlemen went over, and found the mast of a small boat erected, with an old two-bushel bag thereon, which they instantly cut down. On which, an officer came from the schooner stationed in the bay, and demanded the reason for

striking said flag-staff. He was informed by the gentlemen, that as they knew not who erected it, and as it gave uneasiness to the town, they had done it. To which the officer replied, that he was extremely sorry; that it was erected for them to take some particular marks at high water; and hoisted it again, saying he would see that it was struck in about two hours; which was done accordingly.

The distance from the old fortification across the bay to Dorchester side is about three-quarters of a mile; from the water's edge to the place where the staff was erected, about two hundred yards.

MARCH 20, 1775.

The following memorandum relative to the day of Lexington and Concord contains matter not in the relation of the same general facts in the "Memoirs of Heath," p. 14:—

In this battle, I was several times greatly exposed; in particular, at the high grounds at the upper end of Menotomy, and also on the plain below the meeting-house: on the latter, Dr. Joseph Warren,—afterwards Major-General Warren,—who kept constantly near me, and then but a few feet distant, a musket-ball from the enemy came so near his head as to strike the pin out of the hair of his ear-lock. On this plain, Dr. Eliphalet Downer, in single combat with a British soldier, killed him on the spot by thrusting him nearly through the body with his bayonet.

The following portion of a journal, which was kept during the siege of Boston, contains particulars not contained in the printed memoirs:—

Journal of Some Occurrences in the Camp at Roxbury.

1775, June 24. — Several works completing fast on Roxbury side; viz., one on the eminence above the Workhouse, one by the Tide Mill,

and a traverse in Roxbury Street. At noon, while at dinner, a heavy fire from the cannon and mortars at the lines on Boston Neck; but no damage done. A number of cannon-shot and several carcasses brought in. Two soldiers, attempting to set fire to Mr. Brown's barn, were killed by the British. A cannon, discharged seven times by Major Crane, drove the regulars from Brown's house precipitately. In the evening, two heavy cannon brought to the works on the Workhouse Hill.

25. — General officers went to reconnoitre the ground in Brookline, near Charles River; ordered another traverse to be thrown up near the burying-ground in Roxbury Street. This night, some soldiers of our army went down, and fired on the guard in Brown's house; which was returned. [The inten]tion was to burn the house; which could not be effected.

26. — This morning, about daybreak, a party of regulars advanced on our sentries, who gave them a fire; which they returned. Part of the picket turned out. The regulars retreated. None killed or wounded. Towards evening, several cannon-shot were exchanged; but no damage done.

27. — A redoubt opened by Colonel Greateon at Dorchester Neck, on this side the causeway. About noon, three cannon were fired from the lines at the workmen; but the shot fell short.

28. — Nothing extraordinary happened. Works go on briskly. An American soldier drummed through the camp for defaming the General.

1775, July 20. — Being Fast Day, the same was most strictly observed by the army. No fatigue, and all still in camp.

21. — Major Vose, having returned from his expedition to Nantasket, reports that they took off about a thousand bushels of barley on Wednesday and yesterday, besides all the hay. They also burnt the light-house, took away eight lamps, three casks of oil, about half a barrel of gunpowder. Three boats they brought away, and one they burnt. They also burnt a barn on the Brewster, and set fire to the standing grass, which burnt all over the island. Four fishermen were also taken. The enemy's armed schooner and cutter, with a number of boats, engaged our men for some time. However, through kind Providen[ce], but two of our men were slightly wounded, and none killed. Nothing further very material this day. Two brigs sailed out of the harbor just at evening, &c.

22. — Nothing extraordinary, save the general order for forming the army into brigades; in which I am ordered to Cambridge. In the afternoon, went to Cambridge to wait upon General Washington.

23. — Lord's Day. Nothing extraordinary. All still and quiet.

24. — Went to Cambridge in order to get quarters. This day, ten or eleven sail of ships sailed out of Boston Harbor, several of which were men-of-war.

25. — Mr. John Williams and an officer being on the marsh, two cannon were fired at them from the lines. This day, General Ward came to Roxbury to command the seven companies.

26. — My regiment marched for Cambridge. A deserter came into Cambridge camp last night.

27. — A deserter came into Roxbury camp this morning.

28. — Very rainy, and but little work done in Cambridge camp.

29. — The enemy forming a bomb-battery yesterday and to-day at Bunker's Hill; and, this evening, is reported that they have advanced beyond their line, are cutting down trees, fences, &c.

The following extracts from the papers of this period supply illustrations of the character of much of the matter in the collection, and also interesting facts relative to the siege of Boston: —

Major Tupper wants Lieutenant Shaw, that formerly lived on Governor's Island, for a pilot on a certain expedition. The major thinks he is of Captain Gould's company, in General Heath's regiment. We shall embark at Squantum, six o'clock this evening.

Pray keep it secret.

B. TUPPER.

SEPT. 26.

OCT. 19, 1775.

A Return of the Picket-guard last Night at Lechmere's Point.

Officers: Captain Williams, Lieutenant Foster, of General Heath's regiment; two sergeants, two corporals, forty rank and file. Nothing remarkable happened.

CAMBRIDGE, Saturday afternoon,

Oct. 21, 1775.

SIR, — I am this moment informed by the Rev. Mr. Foster, chaplain to Colonel Scammon's regiment, that one

Mr. Page, an Episcopalian minister, is taking plans of all our works; that he was yesterday viewing the works at Roxbury, in order to correct his plans; that he acquainted the Rev. Mr. Belknap, who is now in Cambridge, that he was going for England, and by those plans would strive to convince my Lord Dartmouth that we were too strong to be taken. Whether this was before known to your excellency or not, I cannot tell: but I thought it my duty to acquaint your excellency with it; and am, with the greatest respect,

Your excellency's most obedient

And very humble servant,

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

OCT. 23.

In the evening, between six and seven o'clock, received a picket-guard of forty men, Lieutenant Sumner, Sergeants Jackson and Whitting, and Corporal Pratt. Marched on Lechmere's Point. There set thirteen sentries, and had two relieves. Nothing extraordinary happened. Came off at gun-firing in the morning.

JOSEPH GUILD, *Captain*.

A Return of the Lechmere-Point Guard, 25th October, 1775.

Captain, one; lieutenant, one; sergeants, two; corporals, two; privates, forty. Out of the above forty privates were thirteen sentries; and, about eleven o'clock, I discovered a firing of small arms on Charlestown Neck (which caused the enemy to beat to arms), which continued about fifteen minutes, and then ceased. Also, about two o'clock this morning, I discovered a firing, which appeared to me to be on Chelsea side.

WILLIAM WYMAN, *Captain*.

To the Officer of the Day

for the 26th of October, 1775.

General Heath's compliments to General Putnam, and acquaints him that the works at No. 2 are in a dangerous condition; and submits it to his superior wisdom, whether it be best to complete the new works, or repair those which are not tenable.

FRIDAY MORNING, Oct. 27.

CAMBRIDGE CAMP, Oct. 29, 1775.

I, Charles Cushing, captain in the 36th regiment of foot, commanded by John Greateon, colonel, took command of a picket-guard on the 28th instant, at night,—consisting of one captain, one subaltern, one sergeant, two corporals, and forty privates and one drum and fife,—to go to Lechmere's Point, and made no discovery for that night: and nothing extraordinary happened, except one man's accidentally falling into a deep well, and wounded his head; it being very dark, and stormy weather.

CHAS. CUSHING, *Captain*.

To the Hon. Brigadier-General HEATH.

A Report of the Guards in General Heath's Brigade; viz.:—

At No. 1: one lieutenant, one sergeant, twenty-five rank and file. Sentries by day, six; and six by night.

At No. 2: one lieutenant, one sergeant, thirty-six rank and file. Sentries by day, ten; and ten by night. One prisoner—Ephraim Potter, of the train, confined by Captain Gridley for disobedience of orders—four nights confined.

A Report of Colonel Phiney's Guard; viz.:—

No prisoners. No other sort of return being made to me.

A Report of Captain Hill's Guard; viz.:—

One sergeant, twelve privates. Sentries by day, three; and by night, three. Nothing extraordinary since guard-mounting, only very rainy. The last night dark.

JAMES SCAMMAN,

CAMBRIDGE, at No. 1, Oct. 29, 1775.

Officer of the Day.

CAMP AT ROXBURY, Nov. 20, 1775.

SIR, — In consequence of General Gates's letter yesterday, I have taken care to order a strict watch of the harbor, and all vessels that may arrive, whether they appear to be transports or provision vessels.

I have sent to Colonel Ward at Dorchester, who is in great need of a glass, and renews his request that the glass which was carried away by Colonel Groaton's regiment might be returned, as it will be of more service there than anywhere else. It belongs to an infamous Tory in Boston, who fled to said place for protection. Captain Vane, who, I am informed, has got the glass (although unwilling to own it), gave his receipt for it (as is reported), and pretends to claim it therefrom. Colonel Ward says he will give his receipt for it: and, as it is circumstanced, I think your excellency has a right to order it to the place where it will be most serviceable; and submit it to your excellency to judge which place it ought to be at.

I am your excellency's most humble servant,

ARTEMAS WARD.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

Visited the guards on yesterday. Found them in good order. Ordered grand rounds to begin their round at eleven, visiting rounds at half-past three. Patrols as usual. The grand rounds report to have found the guards vigilant, and sentinels very alert. Field-officer at Lechmere's Point reports that the enemy were very busy yesterday loading of boats at Charlestown Ferry, and carrying the contents thereof on board several vessels which lay near by. Half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, part of seven or eight ammunition-wagons, many of which broke and cut, drove on shore at Lechmere's Point; likewise the bodies of several carts, empty barrels, many pieces of boards, timber, &c. The wagons committed to the charge of the relieving officer. At half-past

seven o'clock in the evening, the enemy began a smart cannonade at our works at Dorchester, which continued until six o'clock this morning, and were frequently answered from our lines.

W. HEATH,

Brigadier-General of the Day.

To His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 28, 1775.

SIR, — A resolution having been taken to surprise a part of the enemy's camp this night, soon after the setting of the moon; and as numbers of officers and others, from mere curiosity, may be led to Cobble Hill in order to be spectators, — by means of which, from a more than common challenging by the sentinels as they approach the hill, the enemy may be apprised of something uncommon, and of course the attempt be defeated, — if you have not therefore received any special orders from any of my superior officers in this division — to wit, either from his Excellency General Washington or General Putnam — to the contrary, you will immediately send two sentinels up to the road at the head of the path leading to Cobble Hill, there to challenge and stop any and all persons going on to the hill, until the party has marched and the attack begun, except general officers or aide-de-camp charged with orders; and, when the party for attack shall advance, they are to pass, and all your sentinels as secretly as possible to be called in, and so to remain until the party returns.

I am, sir, yours, &c.,

W. HEATH, *Brigadier-General.*

To the Officer commanding at Cobble Hill.

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 10, 1776.

Orders to be observed by the Commanding Officer and Guard at Lechmere's Point.

Sentinels by day, three; by night, eleven. The sentinels, except at the guard-house, to be two on each post during the

night; to be very alert; and upon the discovery or approach of the enemy, or on hearing the marching of men, rowing of boats, or any other uncommon noise, one of them at the post where the discovery is made is immediately to give notice to the commanding officer of the guard, whilst the other remains on his post carefully to listen to the noise or watch the motions of the enemy.

Upon notice being given to the commanding officer (unless it be such as to warrant an immediate alarm), he will send an intelligent sergeant with a party to reconnoitre the enemy, or to be satisfied with respect to the noise which was heard. The guard will immediately turn out, and man the works at the guard-house. If, upon return of the sergeant, the ground for alarm is confirmed, the commanding officer will with all speed send the intelligence he has received to the brigadier-general. Should the enemy advance near the sentinels' post, they will fire their pieces, take care not to be surrounded by the enemy, and join their guard. The commanding officer will order an alarm to be fired. Make an obstinate resistance if the enemy advances, and may expect succor immediately. These orders to be observed until countermanded.

W. HEATH, *Brigadier-General*.

Went the grand rounds between the hours of half after eleven o'clock, and half after two o'clock in the morning, and found the several guards all very alert. About eleven o'clock, a bombardment and cannonading began on our side, which was soon answered by the enemy, two for one. The shells thrown from Lechmere's Point, according to the best of my judgment, fell near Faneuil Hall, in the besieged town of Boston. The cannon and mortars at the same time played at Roxbury; but, from appearance, never reached the town of Boston. Just at daybreak, at the point at New Boston, a shell from a thirteen-inch mortar fell within the citadel on Prospect Hill, upon a platform on which stood one of our

twelve-pounders ; went through it, and burst, without injuring the cannon or a single person within the citadel, notwithstanding the same was full of our people then there at their alarm post.

DAN. HITCHCOCK,

Field-officer of the Day.

To Brigadier-General HEATH.

Visited the guards yesterday afternoon. Found them in good order, but some of them deficient in their number, occasioned by the extraordinary draughts from some of the brigade. I gave orders for the grand rounds at eleven, visiting rounds at three, patrols between each relief. The guards in the outpost were re-enforced in the evening. Officers of the day report, that, in the night, they found the guards vigilant and sentinels alert. Six sentinels from the enemy on Bunker's Hill were posted last night at Charlestown Neck, at the place where their advance guard was posted the last fall. Embrasures were also opening yesterday in the parapet on Bunker's Hill next to Mystic River. Several of the enemy were seen yesterday afternoon on Noddle's Island, who appeared to be admeasuring or laying out a work.

W. HEATH, *Brigadier-General.*

To His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

Report of the Several Guards in Major-General Lee's Division.

COBBLE-HILL GUARD.

Visited the sentries, according to orders, between every relief, and found them alert at their posts. Received the general of the day between twelve and one o'clock at noon ; and the grand rounds, one at night. N.B.—Observed the enemy move one or two pieces of artillery from Bunker's Hill to the Ferry ; also one ammunition-wagon. During the night, there appeared to be great motion of carriages in Boston.

JAMES COLLINS, *Major,*

Field-officer for Cobble Hill.

MAIN GUARD, PROSPECT HILL.

Went the rounds as usual, and found all well. Received the grand rounds between the hours of twelve and one o'clock.

BENJA. FARNUM,

Captain Main Guard.

MAGAZINE GUARD.

No powder delivered out, nor any received into the magazine.

THOMAS PRICHARD, *Ensign,*

Officer of the Guard.

PLOUGHED-HILL PICKET-GUARD.

Additional picket at night: captain, one; subaltern, one; sergeant, one; corporal, one; privates, forty-eight. Nothing extraordinary happened. Visited by the grand rounds.

THOMAS NIXON,

Officer of the Picket.

MAIN GUARD, WINTER HILL.

Visited the sentinels by day. Went the visiting rounds at four o'clock. Sent the patrols every hour to visit the sentinels; found them alert on their posts. Nothing remarkable happened during my tour of duty.

PR. JNO. DREW,

Captain Main Guard.

WHITE-HOUSE GUARD.

Patrols went as usual, and found all alert. Received the grand rounds about twelve. The enemy worked all night. At four o'clock, the bells rang in Boston, and a number of muskets fired.

DANL. EGERY, *Captain.*

Went the grand rounds between eleven and one o'clock at night, and found most of the guard very alert. Observed nothing extraordinary.

DAN. HITCHCOCK,

Field-officer of the Day.

To Brigadier-General HEATH.

Visited the guards on yesterday before noon; found them in good order. Ordered grand rounds at eleven; visiting rounds at half-past three, and patrols between each relief. Grand rounds report that they found the guards vigilant and sentinels alert. Captain of the White-house Guard reports that the enemy worked all night; that, at four o'clock this morning, the bells rang in Boston, and a number of muskets were fired. Field-officer at Cobble Hill reports that the enemy moved one or two pieces of artillery from Bunker's Hill to the Ferry, also one ammunition-wagon; and that, during the night, there was great motion of carriages in Boston. Officer of the day in the centre division reports, that, when going his grand rounds, he heard great noise of carriages in Boston, and frequent firing of small-arms, &c.

General orders: That no soldier leave the guard without the liberty of his commanding officer. All sentries are to be very silent on their post. The sentries at the wood-yard are not to have the countersign, and but one to be absent at a time from the guard. The officers to attend the guard continually.

JAMES STEDMAN,

Captain of the Main Guard.

To the Officer of the Day, March 12, 1776.

The enemy very busy loading of boats at Charlestown Ferry, and carrying the contents thereof on board several vessels which lay near by. Half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, part of seven or eight ammunition-wagons, many of which broke and cut, drove on shore at Lechmere's Point; likewise the bodies of several carts, empty barrels, many pieces of boards and timber, &c. The ammunition-wagons and carts being the most valuable, have committed to the charge of the officer which relieved me. At half-past seven o'clock in the evening, the enemy began a smart cannonading at our lines at Dorchester, which continued till six o'clock the

next morning, and were frequently answered from our lines at Dorchester.

No grand rounds.

HY. SHERBURNE, *Major 15th Regiment,*
Commanding Officer at Lechmere's Point.

To Colonel GREATON, Officer of the Day.

As an illustration of the interesting character of much of the correspondence, Mr. Frothingham named the letters that passed between the parties on the occasion of the collision between Generals Heath and Lee in 1776. The following is the letter referred to in Heath's "Memoirs," p. 92, which on this occasion General Heath wrote to the commander-in-chief:—

PEEKSKILL, Nov. 24, 1776.

DEAR GENERAL,—I some days since presented to your excellency the disposition of the troops at this post. I have not as yet received your excellency's express approval or disapprobation. I am endeavoring to complete the business your excellency assigned to me, as fast as possible.

On the 21st instant, I received a letter from General Lee; a copy of which is enclosed. I returned him for answer, that my division was posted at important passes, and, with such positive and pressing instructions from your excellency, that I dare not remove them without your excellency's express orders; which was also the opinion of my brigadier-generals, that it would be extremely hazardous. The last evening, I received another letter from him, which I also enclose. It needs no comment. I still conceive myself strictly bound by your excellency's instructions, and that the importance of this post is enhanced by the enemy's having got the possession of Fort Lee, and thereby secured to themselves the entire navigation of Hudson's River up to this place. Should the number of troops mentioned by General Lee be drawn from this

post, there would not be more than four hundred men, exclusive of the garrisons of the forts, left on this side the river. I consider myself as accountable for the post, being so expressly instructed by your excellency; and shall most strictly adhere to them until countermanded by your excellency's orders, or a signification of your excellency's pleasure that I am to obey such orders as I shall receive from some other my senior officer; which alone, I think, can warrant a departure from my instructions. I wish to know your excellency's pleasure as soon as agreeable to you, as it may prevent altercation and confusion. I beg leave also to acquaint your excellency, that the time to which the garrisons of Fort Montgomery and Constitution are engaged expires (except as to three hundred and twenty-eight privates) in six days, as does that of General Scott's whole brigade and Colonel Tashe's regiment.

I cannot conclude without observing, that General Lee, in his first letter to me, mentions that he has received a recommendation, not a positive order, to move the corps under his command to the other side of the river; and yet, although he did not think it obligatory on himself, in his second letter he positively orders me to hold two thousand of my division in readiness to march with him across the river, directly contrary to my instructions, extracts of which I had furnished him with.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your excellency's most humble servant,

W. HEATH.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

The following remarkable letter does not appear to be referred to in Heath's "Memoirs:" —

CAMP PHILIPSBURG, Nov. 26, 1776.

SIR, — I perceive that you have formed an opinion to yourself, that, should General Washington remove to the Straits

of Magellan, the instructions he left with you upon a particular occasion have to all intents and purposes invested you with a command separate from, and independent of, any other superior; that General Heath and General Lee are merely two major-generals, who perhaps ought to hold a friendly intercourse with each other, and, when their humor or fancied interest prompts, may afford mutual assistance; but that General Heath is by no means to consider himself obliged to obey any orders of the second in command. This idea of yours, sir, may not only be prejudicial to yourself, but to the public. I could wish, sir, before things go any further, you would correct the notion. I enjoined you to send two thousand men over the river, and informed you that I would replace them with an equal number. This was the only mode in my power of complying with the intentions of the general: but it seems your danger was so immense and your instructions so positive, that, instead of taking a step which both duty and common sense dictated, you are so kind as to advise me to send the troops from hence; the two-days' march from hence to Peekskill, and the want of wagons, with the badness of the roads, making no sort of difference. But I must inform you, sir, that we could not have been (such are our circumstances) in less than five days at Peekskill; and that five days may turn the fate of an empire. If any misfortune should happen from this refusal, you must answer for it. If any misfortune had happened to your present post by the detachment of those two thousand men from your corps, the blame would have fallen upon me. But enough on this subject. I shall therefore conclude, that the commander-in-chief is now separated from us; that I, of course, command on this side the water; that, for the future, I will and must be obeyed.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

CHARLES LEE.

To Major-General HEATH, Peekskill.

Mr. Frothingham, in conclusion, complimented the donor on the service he had rendered to the cause of historical inquiry by making the Society the depository of this invaluable collection.

The resolution offered by Mr. Sparks was unanimously adopted.

Mr. LIVERMORE presented from Mrs. Abbott Lawrence an engraved portrait of her late husband, Hon. Abbott Lawrence, executed by Holl, of London, from a picture painted by Harding.

On motion of Mr. WASHBURN, it was unanimously *Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be tendered to Mrs. Abbott Lawrence for her gift of an engraving of her late husband, the Hon. Abbott Lawrence, which will serve as a pleasing additional memorial of one whom they recall as a valued associate; and that the President be requested to communicate this vote to Mrs. Lawrence.

The Special Committee on the communication of Rev. Mr. Waddington of England, which was read by Mr. Lothrop at the last meeting, presented a report proposing a plan for aiding Mr. Waddington to bring the object of his mission to America properly and fairly before the public. The report was accepted; and Messrs. Warren and Washburn were added to the Special Committee to carry into effect the plan suggested.

JUNE MEETING.

The Society held their stated monthly meeting on Thursday, June 9, at noon, in the Dowse Library; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the Department of State of the United States; the Secretary of State of Massachusetts; the American Antiquarian Society; the American Oriental Society; the Chamber of Commerce, New York; the Chicago Historical Society; Union College; J. L. Baker, Esq.; Rev. Charles E. Leverett; Count Jules de Menou; John Wilson and Son; J. R. Thompson, Esq.; Rev. S. Saltmarsh; A. J. Coolidge, Esq.; S. A. Green, M.D.; Rev. E. M. Stone; J. G. R. Farrington, Esq.; George H. Moore, Esq.; and from Messrs. Dana, Everett, Felton, R. Frothingham, jun., Robbins, Savage, Sibley, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary communicated an acknowledgment, from the Historical Society of New Jersey, of the reception of the volume of Proceedings which had been presented to them by this Society, and their thanks for the gift. The same officer also read letters of acceptance from Williams Latham, Esq., as a Resident, and from H. G. Somerby, Esq., as a Corresponding Member.

The President communicated a letter from Joseph Romilly, Esq., dated Cambridge, Eng., 2d May, 1859, returning thanks to the Society for a copy of the "Proceedings in Memory of Prescott."

The President called the attention of the Society to a valuable donation recently received from their Honorary Member, Count Jules de Menou; being a collection of maps in one large volume, entitled "Atlas des Colonies Angloises en Amérique."

On motion of Mr. EVERETT, — who offered a few remarks in relation to the value of the maps, and the claims of the aged donor to respectful and kindly regard in this country, — the following vote was unanimously passed; viz.: —

Voted, That the thanks of the Massachusetts Historical Society be tendered to their esteemed foreign Honorary Member, Count Jules de Menou, for his very valuable contribution to the archives of the Society.

Hon. CHARLES HUDSON of Lexington and Rev. ROBERT C. WATERSTON of Boston were elected Resident Members, and GEORGE H. MOORE, Esq., of New York, a Corresponding Member, of this Society.

The President presented to the Society, from his stepson, George Derby Welles, a collection of United-States cents in a glass case, — the coinage of each year from 1793 to 1857. Whereupon the following vote, offered by Mr. WASHBURN, was unanimously adopted; viz.: —

Voted, That the Massachusetts Historical Society are happy to acknowledge the valuable and interesting gift of a collection of American copper coinage from 1793 to 1857, which they have this day received from their young patron and friend, George Derby Welles; and that the Secretary be requested to communicate this vote.

The President communicated the following letter, addressed to him by William C. Rives, jun., Esq., accom-

panying a plaster cast, recently taken from a marble medallion likeness of President Madison, in the possession of J. C. McGuire, Esq.: —

43, BEACON STREET, May 21, 1859.

DEAR SIR, — I received a few days ago, from Mr. J. C. McGuire of Washington, a plaster cast, recently taken from a marble medallion likeness in his possession, of President James Madison. The original medallion was executed in 1792 by Ceracchi, a pupil of Canova, and a sculptor of no little celebrity in his day. Mr. McGuire, thinking that the faithful cast of the original is not without historical interest, has requested me to have it framed at his expense, and to offer it through you, in his behalf, to the Historical Society of Massachusetts. I have so far complied with his request as to order it to be suitably framed, and to be delivered to the Society as soon as it shall be ready; which will be in about a fortnight. My contemplated absence from Boston induces me to mention to you Mr. McGuire's offering to the Society sooner than I should otherwise have done. I am very respectfully and truly yours,

WM. C. RIVES, Jun.

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

On motion of Mr. WARREN, it was *Voted*, That our cordial thanks be tendered to John C. McGuire, Esq., for the very valuable and beautiful medallion head of James Madison, presented by him to the Society through the hands of William C. Rives, jun., Esq.

Mr. PAIGE announced the death of Dr. Henry Bond, one of the Corresponding Members of this Society. He could not, he said, give an extended notice of his life. He would say briefly, however, that he was grandson of Colonel William Bond, of Revolutionary memory; that

he was born in Watertown, March 21, 1790; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1813, where he remained as tutor about two years; settled as a physician in Concord, N.H.; but removed to Philadelphia in 1819, where he died May 4, 1859, after forty years' faithful devotion to the theory and practice of his profession.

To us, however, he was chiefly known as a local historian and genealogist. His great work, the "History and Genealogies of Watertown," will remain a lasting monument of his industry. It was prepared under the disadvantage of distant residence; but his inexhaustible patience and perseverance overcame that disadvantage, and enabled him to accomplish one of the most thorough works of its kind.

Personally, his modesty of deportment and purity of life endeared him to all his acquaintances; and he will be remembered affectionately by them, not only as an industrious laborer, but as a good man.

The President referred in appropriate terms to the decease of Rev. John Lee of Edinburgh, a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The death of Baron Alexander Von Humboldt was announced by the President in a manner becoming the impressive event. After a simple allusion to the illustrious character and works of the great philosopher and great man, and the loss which the world had sustained in his decease, Mr. WINTHROP, at the instance of the Standing Committee, offered the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society, on this their first meeting since the tidings of the death of

Alexander Von Humboldt reached our shores, desire to unite with the scientific and literary world in paying a tribute of respect and homage to the memory of this illustrious philosopher and venerable man; that they remember with peculiar pride, that, for a term of forty years, his name has adorned their honorary rolls; that they cannot forget that the American Continent has furnished the scene of not a few of his most profound researches, and that American institutions were ever the subject of his warmest interest; that they recall with unfeigned sensibility his eager manifestation of respect and reverence for the memory of Washington, even within the few last months of his long and laborious life; and that they are unable to withhold an expression of thankfulness, that a life unsurpassed, if not unequalled, in history, for its contributions to the cause of natural philosophy and science, presents also a noble example of simplicity, integrity, disinterested benevolence, and a world-wide philanthropy.

Resolved, That a certified copy of the above resolution be communicated by the President to the relatives of Baron Humboldt, with an assurance of the deep regret with which we lose from its place at the head of our foreign Honorary Members—where it has so long stood—the name of one whose birth has had its full share, with those of Wellington, Napoleon, and Cuvier, in signalizing the year 1769; and whose death will have concurred, with those of Prescott, Hallam, De Tocqueville,—may the catalogue end there!—in solemnizing the year 1859 to every friend of literature and science.

Mr. TICKNOR, in moving the adoption of the resolutions, paid an appropriate tribute to the memory of Humboldt, whom he had long known personally; briefly sketched the history of his scientific labors and writings; and related several anecdotes of the “great savant,”

whom he characterized as standing at the very head of the learned men of Europe, for the vast extent of his scientific attainments, and the purity and disinterestedness of his character.

Mr. EVERETT followed Mr. Ticknor, and spoke substantially as follows:—

I am not prepared, Mr. President, to pronounce a formal eulogy on our late honored and lamented associate, Alexander Von Humboldt. No one needs it less; and our friend (Mr. Ticknor) who has just taken his seat, and who had greater opportunities than I enjoyed of cultivating intimate personal relations with him, has left nothing unsaid, which belongs to a due notice of his decease. At your particular request, however, sir, I cheerfully add my humble voice to his. It is certainly most becoming, that we should pay this tribute of respect to one who has so long held a place among our honorary members. It is, in fact, no trifling indication of the early growth of his fame, considering the very limited intercourse which then existed between the literary and scientific men of Europe and America, that our Society should so long ago as 1817 have sought the honor of enrolling him among its members.

It is for another reason peculiarly appropriate, that all honor should be paid to his memory on this side of the Atlantic; for the greatest scientific achievement of his life—his American voyage—was performed on the soil of this continent. Here the most laborious years of his life were passed; for his expedition to Siberia in after-life, less laborious even while it lasted, was accomplished in less than a twelve-month. It seemed, indeed, as if a providential interposition guided him to the New World; for it was only after three other projects had been baffled, that the path was unexpectedly opened to America. Having educated himself as a

scientific traveller, he first conceived the plan of travelling in Egypt; but the French invasion under Bonaparte made it necessary to abandon that design. He next thought of attaching himself to the voyage of circumnavigation which the French Government was preparing under Admiral Baudin. The war with Austria broke out, and diverted the funds assigned by the Directory to this expedition. "Cruelly deceived," says he, "in my hopes, and beholding the plans which I had been forming for several years of my life destroyed in a day, I sought, as at a venture, the most expeditious manner of quitting Europe, and plunging into some enterprise which might console me for what I suffered." With these feelings, and having made at Paris the acquaintance of Mr. Skiöldebrand, the Swedish consul at Algiers, he formed a plan for exploring the alpine region of Central Africa. The Swedish frigate which was to transport the consul, Mr. Von Humboldt, and his friend and companion, M. de Bonpland, had not arrived at Marseilles. For two months they expected her in vain; and then learned that she had suffered severely in a storm, and, having put into Cadiz to refit, could not be expected at Marseilles till the spring. They took passage in a Ragusan sloop for Tunis. War broke out between the Tunisian regency and the French republic, which made it unsafe to proceed by that conveyance; and they passed into Spain, hoping to find there the means of transit to Africa. The minister of Saxony at Madrid procured for his enterprising countryman — then thirty years old — a favorable introduction to the President of the Council of the Indies, which resulted in full permission to explore the dominions of Spain in America and the East. This permission was not withdrawn on the fall of M. de Urquijo from power. "During the five years," says Mr. Von Humboldt, "that we traversed the New Continent, we perceived not the least appearance of distrust; and it is grateful to me here to recollect, that in the midst of the most afflicting privations, and struggling against the obstacles which arise

from the savage state of the country, we have never had to complain of the injustice of man."

Nor will it be denied, that Mr. Von Humboldt's literary reputation rests in a good degree on his American expedition, and on the works — scientific, historical, statistical, and miscellaneous — which were the fruit of that expedition. I do not, of course, claim for that remarkable series of publications to take precedence, as a philosophical treatise, or a body of natural science, over the "Cosmos;" but I need not say to the students of Mr. Von Humboldt's writings, that but for his voyage to America, the researches connected with it, the observations in every department of natural history, which he made during the progress of the voyage, and the subsequent studies required for the preparation of the numerous publications in which its results were given to the world, the "Cosmos," in all human probability, would never have been written. I reflect with satisfaction, that I had the privilege, more years ago than I care to enumerate, in an article in the "North-American Review," of which I was then the editor, of submitting to the reading public an account, a very imperfect one I feel most sensibly, but the first, if I mistake not, which had appeared in our language, of all the works then published as the fruits of this ever-memorable expedition. The original works necessary for the preparation of the article, not being at that time in our public libraries, were imported by me for the purpose. The remarkable treatise to which Mr. Ticknor has alluded, the "*Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Monde*," had not then appeared; but was, at the time of its publication, imported by me, in order particularly to ascertain the opinions entertained by M. Von Humboldt on the supposed ante-Columbian discovery of this Continent by the Scandinavians."

You have, sir, in the resolutions reported from the Standing Committee, expressed the unanimous opinion of the scientific world, in placing Alexander Von Humboldt at the head of the

men of science, not only of his own, but, I think we may venture to add with the diffidence which ought to attend such a judgment, of any age. He took this rank not only in virtue of what he was, but, if I may hazard the seeming paradox, in virtue, at any rate in spite, of what he was not. Standing, as I have said, by general consent at the head of the republic of science, there was perhaps no one special department in which his superior might not be found on the Continent of Europe, in England, or in this country. There was no one speciality to which he gave himself exclusively; so that it is no derogation from his merit to say, that there were among the men of science, his contemporaries, those who, each in his particular department, had pushed their researches further than he had done. For one such, we need not go beyond this neighborhood. But it belonged to Humboldt to take a comprehensive, an imperial, survey of the whole field of science, and to mould the mass of materials derived from the individual researches of others into one grand system; himself an intellectual "Cosmos" akin to the scientific "Cosmos" of his own formation.

Nothing is more characteristic of his career as a philosopher than the length of time during which his labors, both as an investigator and a writer, were carried on; the continuance of his physical and intellectual activity, long after attaining the age at which the majority of men, weary of toil and satisfied with success, or reconciled to the want of it, sink into repose. He was sixty years old when he undertook his expedition to the Oural and Altai mountains, of which the fruits are recorded in his "*Asie Centrale, — Recherches sur les Chaines de Montagnes et la Climatologie comparée*;" an expedition undertaken with Gustave Rose and Ehrenberg, at the repeated and earnest request of the Russian Emperor, who appropriated large sums to defray the expense. With the exception of the first forty pages of his "Cosmos," he tells us in the preface of the first-published volumes of that work, that it was wholly

written, and for the first time, in the years 1843 and 1844. As he was born in 1769, he must have been seventy-four when he commenced it.

Nor was this physical and mental activity, protracted so long beyond the accepted term of human life (for the fifth volume of "Cosmos" was completed but the last year), the only wonder. Other causes combined to produce his astonishing fertility as a writer. It may be interesting to all, and important to those who are not so far advanced in years as to have formed their habits beyond the hope of change, to know one of the secrets of his physical and scientific life. Living to the age, within a few months, of ninety years, for all purposes of regular scientific research and literary labor, he lived another life of forty or fifty years, in consequence of having accustomed himself, from the time that he grew up to manhood, to about four hours' sleep. I think I can state this on his own authority; for I heard it asserted in his presence, and listened to by him with a smile, which I regarded as one of assent. If, then, we consider four hours of daily study as a pretty good day's work, for one whose time must have been so much broken in upon as his, we may say, that, by contenting himself with four hours' sleep, while the majority of men require eight, he really lived another life of forty or fifty years, in addition to his fourscore years and ten. Whether this was mainly the result of natural constitution, temperate habits, habitual abstinence from the causes of weariness and exhaustion, cheerful temper, or elastic spirits, or in some degree of all combined, I cannot say; probably the latter.

At any rate, his disposition was eminently social. My acquaintance with him commenced in the winter of 1817-18, when I frequently met him in general society in Paris. His company, of course, was greatly sought; and no individual of eminence was more frequently to be met, as far as my means of observation extended, at the dinner-table and in the *salons* of Paris. He was then, as far as I could judge, principally

engaged in those geographical researches, of which the results are given in the work above mentioned. On leaving Paris, he was good enough to give me letters to his brother William, at that time the Prussian Minister in London, with whom it was my good fortune, in that way, to become intimately acquainted. In the year 1842, Baron Alexander Von Humboldt came to London in the suite of the King of Prussia, who visited England to attend the christening of the Prince of Wales; and I then had the satisfaction of renewing my acquaintance with him during his brief stay. It is scarcely necessary to say, that, at a moment when London was more than usually thronged with the celebrities of Europe, he was the centre of the greatest interest.

Enjoying this world-wide fame, his feelings were not less catholic. Nothing more characterizes his works than the total absence of the spirit of invidious criticism. When other authors are named,—and how few are the contemporary writers of scientific merit who are not named in some part of the long series of his works?—the amplest justice is always done them. In truth, if he erred, it was in the opposite direction. One is sometimes inclined to think that he pushed the habit of kindly appreciation a little too far, and lessened its value by a want of severe discrimination. If he ever falls into this error, it was a fault on the side of generosity, not too common at the present day. To his great credit, Alexander Von Humboldt was wholly free from that carping spirit which can see nothing in a work of science, literature, or art, but its defects; and that hateful temper which seeks to build its own reputation, or that of a favorite, on the ruins of the reputation of a rival or competitor. The long series of his writings may, I believe, be searched in vain for one ill-natured word.

I reflect with some satisfaction, that it was in my power to aid a meritorious young artist of this city, Mr. Wight (to whom we owe the admirable likeness of our great benefactor, Mr. Dowse, which graces this room), in procuring the oppor-

tunity of painting Baron Humboldt. This was a favor, of course, not lightly to be asked of a person so distinguished, whose time was so precious, and whom so many artists were eager to paint and to model. Mr. Wight, however, succeeded so well in a portrait of my much-valued friend, Mr. D. D. Barnard, then Minister of the United States at Berlin, and an intimate friend of Baron Humboldt, that the illustrious philosopher, on seeing the portrait of Mr. Barnard, consented to give our young countryman four long sittings. Mr. Wight succeeded in getting an excellent likeness, which has been well engraved in this city. It is not without a slight resemblance, it may be remarked, to Mr. Dowse himself.

I had some hopes of seeing him again, before either of us should take the great journey. Disappointed in this, it is a subject of pleasing though sad reflection to me, that the same kind feelings, of which he gave me many valued proofs in my younger days, were manifested to my children while on a visit to Berlin the last summer. With "the scarcely legible hand of the old man of eighty-nine," he addresses words of friendly salutation to them, and kindly remembrance to me from "the traveller of the Cordilleras and the steppes of Siberia," the joint character in which he wished his name to descend.

The strange assertion has lately been made, that the "Cosmos" is a system of philosophical atheism, slightly veiled from motives of prudence; and that even the name of God does not occur in it. This last statement is notoriously inaccurate; and, for the first assertion, there is not, as far as I know, the slightest foundation. Humboldt, in this as in his other works, proposes to treat only the phenomena revealed to the senses; but he recognizes the reality of spiritual and moral relations, though justly considering them above the province of demonstrative science. Between him and his brother William, undeniably a man of the deepest religious convictions, there prevailed an entire sympathy; and he cites with approval, from the works of the latter, passages which recognize the

truth of the Christian religion. On the appearance of the Chevalier Bunsen's "Signs of the Times," in 1855, Humboldt rose from its perusal, and, on the same day, addressed a letter of two sheets to the author, expressive of his sympathy and approval. In his last great work, he refers to the Hebrew Scriptures with respect, and even bestows on the hundred and fourth psalm that much-honored name of "Cosmos," which he had appropriated to the crowning work of his literary life. He distinctly recognizes the purifying influence of the new faith, in contrast with the decaying paganism of the ancient world. So far is it from being true, that he "knows nothing of a God in creation," he asserts in terms, that "it was the tendency of the Christian mind to prove, from the order of the universe and the beauty of nature, the greatness and goodness of the Creator;" and he traces the growing taste for natural description, observable in the writers of the new faith, to the tendency "to glorify the Deity in his works."

In denying the imputed atheism of Humboldt, I build nothing on the occurrence of the name of the Supreme Being in his publications. No writers more freely use the great and sacred name than those of the Pantheistic, or, what is the same thing, Atheistic school; meaning, however, not the All-wise, All-powerful BEING who created and who rules, with sovereign intelligence, the heavens and the earth, but the aggregate of existing things; making men and beasts, and trees and stones, and dust and ashes, part and parcel of what they call God.

I cordially second the motion for the adoption of the resolutions on your table.

The Resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

The President announced to the Society, that, immediately after the death of Mr. Prescott, he had, by the advice and consent of the Standing Committee, requested

Mr. Ticknor to prepare a Memoir of the deceased for the Society's Collections; but that he had inadvertently omitted to bring the fact to the notice of the Society, amidst the affecting transactions of the special meeting held in respect to Mr. Prescott's memory.

Whereupon, on motion of the Chairman of the Standing Committee, it was *Voted*, That the Society ratify and confirm the appointment made by the President, at their instance, of Mr. Ticknor, to prepare a Memoir of our late eminent associate, Mr. Prescott, for the Society.

The President communicated the following letter from Samuel J. Bridge, Esq., presenting to the Society a copy of the form of commission which was issued by the Board of Customs in London to revenue officers at Boston, America, in the early part of the reign of George III. The commission is as follows:—

BOSTON, June 8, 1859.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, President of the Massachusetts
Historical Society, Boston.

DEAR SIR,— While I was making some inquiries, in June last, in regard to the revenue system of England, I was shown in the London custom-house a blank commission, such as the Board of Commissioners of his majesty's customs in Boston issued to the various officers at this port previous to the Revolution, —

“ In good old Colony times,
When we lived under the King.”

The plate from which this impression was taken was found, only a few days before, among some old rubbish in one of the queen's warehouses; having very fortunately escaped the fires which destroyed the London custom-house in 1787 and 1814.

I made every effort in my power to obtain the original plate, intending to present it to the Society over which you preside; but without success. Sir Thomas Fremantle, Chairman of the Board of Commissioners of her Majesty's Customs in London, in reply to my request, stated that it possessed the same historical interest to Old England that it would to New England. He very kindly, however, furnished me with six impressions; one of which I present to your Society for preservation. The plate was engraved early in the reign of George III., and, you will perceive, is dated "Boston;" which goes to show that all the blanks, stationery, and other supplies consumed in the customs here, were obtained from the mother country. This was a grievance complained of by the colonists, and one, among many, that led to the Revolution. I desire to have the commission framed at my expense, under the direction of the Cabinet-keeper.

I am very truly your friend,

SAM. J. BRIDGE.

CUSTOM HOUSE, LONDON, April 21, 1859.

DEAR SIR, — I have been desired by Sir Thomas Fremantle, with reference to the interview you had with him this morning, to forward for your acceptance six copies of the form of commission which was issued by the Board of Customs in London to the revenue officers at Boston, America, in the early part of the reign of George III., and which have been impressed from an old plate recently discovered in this building.

I remain, dear sir, yours very faithfully,

(Signed)

F. G. GARDNER,

Assistant Secretary.

SAMUEL J. BRIDGE, Esq., No. 2, Francis Street,
Golden Square, London.

To all People to whom these Presents shall come.

We, the Commissioners for managing, and causing to be levied, his majesty's customs and other duties in America, do hereby depute and impower

By virtue whereof, he hath power to enter into any ship-bottom, boat, or other vessel, and also, in the daytime, with a writ of assistants granted by his majesty's Superior or Supreme Court of Justice, and taking with him a constable, headborough, or other public officer next inhabiting, to enter into any house, shop, cellar, warehouse, or other place whatsoever, not only within the said port, but within any other port or place within our jurisdiction, there to make diligent search; and, in case of resistance, to break open any door, trunk, chest, case, pack, truss, or any other parcel or package whatsoever, for any goods, wares, or merchandises prohibited to be exported out of or imported into the said port, or whereof the customs or other duties have not been duly paid; and the same to seize to his majesty's use, and to put and secure the same in the warehouse in the port next to the place of seizure. In all which premises he is to proceed in such manner as the law directs; hereby praying and requiring all and every his majesty's officers and ministers, and all others whom it may concern, to be aiding and assisting to him in all things as becometh. — Given under our hands and seal, at the custom-house, Boston, this day of in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord King George the Third, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and

Voted, That the thanks of this Society be presented to Mr. Bridge for his highly acceptable donation.

Mr. TICKNOR presented to the Society the subjoined copy of a proposition by Dr. Sylvester Gardiner to build

at his own cost an inoculating hospital, on a spot of land some twenty or thirty rods northward of the hospital which he built during the last war for the reception of the sick and wounded of his majesty's navy:—

To the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in Town Meeting assembled, March, 1761.

The small-pox, so fatal to mankind, and to which they are so constitutionally subject, destroys near a seventh part, wherever it prevails in the natural way. This truth the town, by a melancholy experience, can evince, as well as other parts of the world. Nor is the loss of individuals the only bad consequence attending the spreading of that devouring distemper: for the trade of every place in America, where it becomes general, is much interrupted and stopped; and, consequently, thereby the public greatly suffers. Particularly at this time, should that illness spread, it would, as there has been a very large importation of goods into this town, certainly prove vastly detrimental to it, by preventing the sale of them; and might, perhaps, throw the trade which we have with Connecticut and Rhode Island into another channel: and how difficult it is to recover lost trade is well known. Moreover, when great numbers are seized with the small-pox at the same time, they cannot possibly have so good care and attendance, for want of which the lives of many are not only hazarded, but even lost. In order, therefore, to prevent the above-mentioned inconveniences, and many others for brevity's sake omitted, it is with submission proposed, that a well-regulated hospital for inoculating should be erected in a part of the town from whence there could be but little if any danger of communicating the infection to the other parts thereof; and the same to be under the inspection of the selectmen. Such a hospital, it is humbly conceived, will meet with the approbation of the public, as it will have a tendency, and must, in all

human probability, prevent that distemper from ever spreading* or becoming general in the town again, and subjecting the inhabitants to the severe hardships and difficulties they have repeatedly labored under; and will, by the blessing of God, be instrumental in preserving thousands of lives. This will most evidently appear by comparing the numbers which die of this disease, who take it in the natural way, with those that receive it by inoculation. A just and authentic computation is now humbly laid before the town.

From December, 1751, to December, 1757, there were inoculated in London, in the hospital for that particular use erected, a thousand one hundred and twenty-one, of which only three died; so that, by that computation, three hundred and seventy-three recovered to one that died, excepting some trivial fraction. In the same city, there were received into the Small-pox Hospital, of those who took it in the natural way, from the year 1746 to 1757, three thousand five hundred and six, out of which died nine hundred and twenty-six; which is somewhat less than one in four. This, it must be allowed, is an uncommon proportion; but, on considering how many of those were taken in a manner out of the streets when the distemper was advanced on them, it may be easily accounted for. In the space of twelve years, there were two thousand inoculated in the towns of Hampshire, Sussex, and Surrey, in England; out of which only two died. Mr. Ranby, sergeant-surgeon of England, inoculated upwards of a thousand, and never lost one. Mr. Winchester, surgeon of the Foundling Hospital, inoculated a hundred and eighty-six of those children, of whom only one died; and, in his private practice, inoculated

* What is mentioned here as probable, hath been, since writing the above, much confirmed by experience, by the prudent conduct of the selectmen in inducing the removal of the persons affected with the small-pox to one of the houses hereafter mentioned. That distemper, which threatened the town from all quarters, is now confined chiefly there, and the town entirely free from it, without giving the least alarm or uneasiness to the inhabitants of the town or country from any danger they are in of their being infected from that place.

three hundred and seventy, and lost but one. When that distemper, in 1721, became epidemical in this town, there were five thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine had it, whereof eight hundred and forty-four died; which is nearly one in seven. In 1730, four thousand had it here, of which five hundred died; which is one in eight. In 1752; there were five thousand and fifty-nine whites who took it in the natural way, of which four hundred and fifty-two died; which is nearly one in eleven,—a most favorable proportion: and a thousand nine hundred and seventy whites, who took it by inoculation, of which twenty-four died; being one in eighty-two,—a very unusual mortality by inoculation, and which must be attributed to numbers being unfit to receive the infection, and taking the distemper at a season of the year not so favorable to the disease; it being observed, that there was not one who was inoculated, after the month of May came in, but who did well. So that, from observation in this town, in the years 1721, 1730, and 1752, there were fifteen thousand and forty-eight who took said distemper in the natural way, of whom a thousand seven hundred and forty-six died; which, to avoid fractions, is one to eight. It is now supposed that there are four thousand to have that distemper in this town; and if, as we may reasonably hope, the good conduct and prudence of the selectmen can prevent its spreading, so as to give the inhabitants an opportunity of receiving that distemper by inoculation at the most favorable season of the year, the lives that will be saved, in all probability, in this town, by this means, will be four hundred and sixty, allowing one in a hundred to miscarry by inoculation, and one in eight in the natural way. And if four hundred and sixty lives can be saved in this town only in one season, what numbers must be saved, in all human probability, in the whole province, in the course of twenty years! and how happy will it be for the rising generation that they are delivered from the fear of this disease at an age when there was but little reflection or

danger from this distemper ! What hours and years of anxiety will they be delivered from by this early and truly prudent care of their parents !

Many of our neighboring governments have experienced the great benefit of going into the practice of inoculation, too commonly known to need recital at present. Now, in order to guard, as much as human reason can direct, against this mortal and much-dreaded distemper, by rendering it, by the blessing of God, less destructive to the human species, it is proposed by Dr. Silvester Gardiner to build at his own cost an inoculating hospital, well secured with a strong and high fence. This building will be erected between twenty and thirty rods northward of the hospital he built last war for the reception of the sick and wounded belonging to his majesty's navy. The old building he now proposes to be used as a house for inoculating the patients in : from whence they are to be removed, in a proper time, to the new hospital ; and, when recovered, to be returned again to the hospital in which they were inoculated,—there to remain till they are properly aired and shifted, so as to prevent the carrying-off or spreading the distemper. No person in town is to pay more than four dollars for inoculation, medicines, and attendance, and three dollars per week for diet, nursing, and lodging, during his or her illness. And further, said Gardiner shall be obliged to receive into said hospital all such persons sick of the small-pox that the selectmen of this town shall see cause from time to time to remove there in order to prevent the spreading of said distemper, upon paying four dollars for every such person's cure, and what shall be thought necessary for their diet, nursing, and attendance.

And, if it should be ever found more convenient for the public to have the property of this hospital, Dr. Gardiner obliges himself to pass good and authentic deeds for the same to the town, whenever demanded by the selectmen, upon their paying the first cost of the land, buildings, and utensils.

Mr. Ticknor stated that the Committee to whom this offer was referred reported against the suitableness of the place, and the proposition was not accepted.

The President took occasion to say, before the adjournment of the meeting, that he was preparing to be absent from the country for a few months, and that he must rely on the indulgence of the Society to excuse him for any omissions which his absence might involve. He was quite sure that the Vice-Presidents and Standing Committee would see that the Society suffered no detriment. But, should he be detained abroad longer than such an indulgence could reasonably be asked, his resignation would always be at the disposal of the Society. Meantime, if he could render any service to the Society, or to any of its members, on the other side of the Atlantic, it would afford him the greatest pleasure to do so.

JULY MEETING.

The Society held their stated monthly meeting on Thursday, July 14, at noon. In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, the meeting was called to order by the Recording Secretary; and Hon. EMORY WASHBURN, Chairman of the Standing Committee, was chosen to preside.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary announced donations from the Department of State of the United States; the Essex Institute; Count

Jules de Menou; A. D. Bache, Esq.; Hon. Charles Hale; Francis Brinley, Esq.; Samuel A. Green, M.D.; John Wilson, jun.; Harper and Brothers; Francis Jackson, Esq.; Rev. E. M. Stone; and from Messrs. Aspinwall, Deane, Hedge, Gray, Livermore, Quint, Robbins, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Recording Secretary also communicated a letter from our associate, Colonel Thomas Aspinwall, accompanying a very valuable donation of thirty-one volumes of newspapers; comprising ten volumes of the "Washington Globe" and "Union," eleven volumes of the "National Intelligencer," three volumes of the "London Times," and seven volumes of the "Evening Mail." Whereupon, the following vote, offered by Mr. Warren, was unanimously passed; viz.: *Voted*, That the cordial thanks of the Society be tendered to their associate, Thomas Aspinwall, Esq., for the donation this day made by him, of a valuable series of newspapers, comprising the numbers, for many years, of the "London Times" and "Mail," the "National Intelligencer," the "Globe," and the "Union," all handsomely and expensively bound.

The Corresponding Secretary communicated letters of acceptance from Hon. Robert H. Gardiner, as an Honorary, G. H. Moore, Esq., as a Corresponding, and Hon. Charles Hudson, as a Resident Member.

The same officer also communicated a note of invitation from the Committee of Arrangements for laying the corner-stone of the national monument to the Pilgrim Fathers, addressed to him, for this Society to be present at the ceremonies appointed to take

place at Plymouth, on Tuesday, the second day of August.

Voted, That the Corresponding Secretary be directed to communicate to the Committee of Arrangements the Society's acknowledgment and acceptance of their invitation.

Rev. CHARLES LOWELL, D.D., was elected a Resident Member; the Society unanimously voting that his name be restored to the place in the list which it occupied before his resignation several years ago.

Mr. GRAY announced, in a few appropriate and impressive remarks, the death of the Hon. THOMAS G. CARY, which took place at Nahant, on the third day of the present month. He referred to his long and intimate acquaintance with the deceased, dating back to his school and college life. He spoke of the estimable qualities of his mind and heart, which had secured him the unvarying respect of the community, and won the cordial esteem of a large circle of friends. He alluded to the value and usefulness of his services in various relations of public and private life, and especially commended the conscientious fidelity with which he discharged all his duties.

Mr. Gray then submitted the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted; viz.:—

Whereas it has pleased Divine Providence to remove from us, by death, our late associate, Hon. THOMAS G. CARY,—

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society owe it to their own feelings to express their high respect for the memory of one so honored by the community for the able

and important services which he has rendered to them, both in his public and private capacity; and so highly esteemed by all who knew him, for his spotless integrity, his kind and liberal disposition, and his courteous and unassuming deportment; and that we tender our cordial sympathy and best wishes to his family under this solemn and afflictive dispensation.

The Chair nominated Mr. Gray to prepare the customary Memoir of Mr. Cary for the Society's Collections.

Mr. ROBBINS read a note addressed to him by Rev. G. W. Blagden, D.D., requesting him to present to the Society the following communication from the pastors and deacons of the Old South Church:—

BOSTON, July 12, 1859.

To the Honorable President, the Officers and Members, of the
Massachusetts Historical Society.

GENTLEMEN,—In the year 1814, certain votes were passed by the Old South Church and Society, in this city, granting conditionally to the Massachusetts Historical Society certain "books and papers" from the Prince Library, "adapted to the purposes of the Society," and to be "deposited in their room."

From that time, the Old South Church and Society have been glad to know that the deposit thus made has been in such good and safe keeping, and been useful in carrying out the benevolent design of Dr. Prince, who said, in bequeathing to them the library of which it is a part, that he had "made the collection from a public view, and with a desire that the memory of many important transactions might be preserved, which otherwise would be lost."

When the "books and papers" were thus deposited, the

Prince Library (consisting of his books in Latin, Greek, and the Oriental languages, and of what he called the New-England Library), though valuable, was not much used, nor sufficiently appreciated.

As the interest in historical studies and collections has, since then, greatly increased, applications for consulting the books, and the need of a convenient and quick access to the whole collection, have also increased, and are increasing.

Recently, the Prince Library has been transferred to rooms, in our chapel, fitted for its reception; and a new catalogue has been made, which, though answering the purpose for which it was originally prepared, we hope soon to have replaced by one more satisfactorily compiled,—a copy of which we shall not fail to place in your collection.

For these reasons, the undersigned,—the pastors and deacons of the Old South Church,—in whose care the library has been placed, have deemed it their duty to ask respectfully for the return of the books and papers thus intrusted to your care, agreeably to the terms of the vote by which you received them; which provides that “the Old South Church and Society shall at any time hereafter have a right to receive and take back from said Historical Society said tracts, manuscripts, and treatises, whenever, by their vote at any meeting of the said church and society, they shall so vote and determine.”

Accordingly, at the annual meeting of the Old South Society, held in April last, it was “*Voted*, That the pastors and deacons be a Committee to address the Massachusetts Historical Society, respectfully requesting them to return the historical books of the Prince Library to the Old South Society, and return thanks for their faithful custody of the same since 1814.”

The undersigned heartily unite in the thanks here expressed. They will be at all times happy to give to the members of the Historical Society the freest access to their

whole collection of books, and will have pleasure in ever co-operating with them in advancing the knowledge and influence of the history of the Fathers of New England.

G. W. BLAGDEN.

J. M. MANNING,
by C. Stoddard.

CHARLES STODDARD.

LORING LOTHROP.

The following votes, offered by Mr. ROBBINS, were unanimously passed; viz.: —

Voted, That the Massachusetts Historical Society respectfully and gratefully acknowledge the courtesy and liberality of the Old South Church and Society, in the city of Boston, in having granted them the custody and use of a valuable portion of the Prince Library during the period of forty-five years.

Voted, That the Standing Committee be directed, in compliance with the request of the pastors and deacons of the Old South Church this day communicated, to take suitable measures to restore and convey to the said church the books and papers of the Prince Collection conditionally deposited in the library of this Society in 1814.

Mr. LIVERMORE, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the last year, read a letter, which he had received while in office, from Mr. Henry Dexter, the sculptor. It had been laid before that Committee soon after its receipt, but had not hitherto been communicated to the Society, for the reason that the subject to which it relates was one which could more fitly receive the attention of the Society at a meeting when the President would not be present. The letter is as follows; viz.: —

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been requested by those gentlemen who were instrumental in the procurement of subscriptions for the bust of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, executed by me, to place the same in your care, for the use of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and, in accordance with that request, I would now state that the bust is at my studio in Cambridgeport, subject to your direction.

Very respectfully yours,

To GEORGE LIVERMORE, Esq.,

HENRY DEXTER.

Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Mass. Historical Society.

Mr. Livermore stated, that the Standing Committee of the last year had gratefully received the gift, and had placed it in the upper room; and that they now asked the concurrence of the Society in their act.

By announcing the gift, Mr. Livermore said he had discharged his duty as a member of the Standing Committee; but he ventured to ask the indulgence of the Society while he added a word respecting the final disposition of the bust.

The room in which the Society were now assembled was considered as finished and completely furnished when it was opened after the reception of Mr. Dowse's library. Nothing was to be added, or to be taken away. Stuart's portrait of Mr. Everett — the only portrait which adorned the library while in the possession of its founder at Cambridge — was very properly placed here. Indeed, he could not too frequently nor too earnestly express the deep sense of obligation in the minds of Mr. Dowse's representatives towards Mr. Everett for the sincere and long-continued friendship, which, commencing between thirty and forty years ago, had continued to manifest itself so strongly after their aged friend had gone to his rest.

He would now avail himself of the opportunity, when the President was absent from his post, to say also, that for the ready, judicious, and efficient advice and action of Mr. Winthrop, when the subject of the gift of the library was suggested to him, the Society is greatly indebted. Mr. Dowse, after much deliberation, had made up his mind to give his library to some public institution. The Historical Society was only one among several, to which he had turned his attention, and which he named in a conversation with him (Mr. Livermore); and, when Mr. Dowse instructed him to ask the President of this Society whether the gift would here be accepted on the terms which he proposed to annex to it, the whole matter was still undecided.

But the delicate and prompt attention given by Mr. Winthrop to the proposition of Mr. Dowse settled his purpose, and secured to this Society the library, and afterwards the fund for its support. It seemed, therefore, appropriate that some recognition of the President's connection with the donation should be made and perpetuated; and as a friend and executor of Mr. Dowse, as well as from his interest in the Society, Mr. Livermore expressed the desire, that, at the proper time, the bust by Mr. Dexter might be permanently placed in the Dowse Library.

After remarks by MESSRS. FELTON, CLIFFORD, and ROBBINS, expressing their cordial concurrence with the views and suggestion of Mr. Livermore, the following vote was unanimously passed; viz. :—

Voted, That this Society gratefully accepts the bust of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, its President, presented by

Mr. Dexter on behalf of the gentlemen at whose instance it was executed; and that, in accordance with the request just made by the friend and executor of Mr. Dowse, the bust be ultimately placed in the Dowse Library.

Mr. WILLARD communicated the following paper on "Naturalization in the American Colonies, with more particular reference to Massachusetts."

Naturalization in the American Colonies.

The hostility of ancient nations to aliens, connected more or less closely with the sentiment of race and of patriotism, and made more intense by diversity of language, continued with few exceptions through the various periods of their history, and passed into modern Europe in its several centuries, uninfluenced to any extent by the progress of civilization and refinement, and the precepts of Christianity.

At the present day, though this hostility may be considered as at an end, a distinctive feeling between citizens of the same country and aliens continues, and will never be eradicated while men are separated into distinct communities.

In the following tractate, it is not proposed to discuss the doctrines embraced in the change or transfer of allegiance, or to consider any real or supposed modifications of what have been regarded as the legitimate results of those doctrines, but, only as a matter pertaining to our own history, to give a summary of the English statutes touching naturalization, followed by references to some of the Colonial charters and laws, especially to the exercise of jurisdiction in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and in the Commonwealth both before and after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

In no country of Europe has the exclusion of foreigners been more strictly enforced than in England; so that, until a recent period, no one could become a British subject except

by a special Act of Parliament.* In addition to the reasons given above, the pride of the Anglo-Saxon race, which hardly permits an Englishman to look on his Continental neighbor as an equal, would lead him to regard with dread any encroachment upon a population that had become homogeneous in the progress of centuries,—a dread that would not be diminished by the narrow channel that divides him from other races.

But, while she guarded the sea-girt isle with this extreme jealousy, she was, as will be seen in the context, more liberal towards her Colonies after they began to acquire assured strength; that is to say, more liberal as regarded foreign Protestants, while wholly excluding the Roman Catholic from every privilege of a subject.

The first relaxation of the ancient restriction took place in 1708, under statute 7 Anne, chap. 5, entitled "AN ACT FOR NATURALIZING FOREIGN PROTESTANTS." The preamble states the plain proposition, that "the increase of a people is a means of advancing the wealth and strength of a nation;" and adds, that "many strangers of the Protestant or Reformed religion, out of a due consideration of the happy constitution of the government of this realm, would be induced to transport themselves and their estates into this kingdom, if they might be made partakers of the advantages and privileges which the natural-born subjects thereof do enjoy." It is then enacted, that all persons taking the oaths, and making

* By the statute of 7 and 8 Victoria, chap. 66, a resident alien subject of a friendly State, or one who shall hereafter come to reside in any part of the United Kingdom with intent to settle therein, desirous of being naturalized, is required to set forth, in a memorial to one of the principal Secretaries of State, the facts concerning his age, profession, or occupation, length of residence, &c. If the secretary, after examination, is satisfied of the truth of the memorial, he may issue a certificate, granting to the alien, on his taking the prescribed oaths, *all the rights of a natural-born subject*, except that of being a member of Parliament or of the Privy Council, and any other exceptions especially named in the certificate; which certificate must be enrolled in the Court of Chancery.

This statute did not extend to the Colonies. See statute 10 and 11 Victoria, chap. 83, enacted in 1847, cited *post*.

and subscribing the declaration appointed by statute 6 Anne, chap. 23, and having received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in some Protestant congregation within three months, shall be deemed natural-born subjects.

This law did not extend to the Colonies, and did not find favor at home. Parliament soon relapsed into the old stringent doctrine of the common law, and in 1711, after an experiment of three years, repealed the statute of 7 Anne, because, according to the preamble, "divers mischiefs and inconveniences have been found by experience to follow from the same, to the discouragement of the natural-born subjects of this kingdom, and to the detriment of the trade and wealth thereof." The "discouragement and detriment" may have been more in seeming than in fact; but so it was, that this exclusion of foreigners remained as of old in the mother country until the present reign.

But there were other statutes designed for the benefit of the Colonies, where it was supposed the "discouragement and detriment" complained of at home would not exist. In several of the Colonies, foreign Protestants had become numerous, and their numbers were rapidly increasing; and thus it had become a very desirable object to attach them to their new homes, by giving them an interest in the soil, and admitting them to full civil and political privileges, so that agriculture and trade and general wealth might be developed. To this end, in 1740, the statute 13 George II., chap. 7, was passed, with a preamble similar to that of 7 Anne: viz., that "the increase of a people is a means of advancing the wealth and strength of any nation or country; and that many foreigners and strangers, from the lenity of our government, the purity of our religion, the benefit of our laws, the advantages of our trade, and the security of our property, might be induced to come and settle in some of his majesty's Colonies in America, if they were made partakers of the advantages and privileges which the natural-born subjects of this realm do enjoy."

This statute admitted all Protestant foreigners to the privileges of natural-born subjects, on a residence of seven years in any one of the Colonies, without an absence exceeding two months at any one time, taking the oaths of allegiance, abjuration, &c., and receiving the sacrament, &c. The oaths and declarations—with exceptions in favor of Quakers and Jews—were required to be taken before a judge in open court, between nine and twelve o'clock in the forenoon; and to be entered in the same court, and also in the secretary's office of the Colony. The judge was required to make a due and proper entry of the oaths, &c., "in a book to be kept for that purpose in said court;" and the secretary was required to make the like entry in a like book to be kept for the same purpose in his office, upon notification by the judge.

A certificate, under the Colonial seal, was full proof of naturalization.

The secretary was directed to transmit to the office of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, annually, the names of all who had taken the benefit of the act.

Naturalized persons could not be of the Privy Council or of Parliament; or hold any office or place of trust, civil or military, in Great Britain or Ireland; or hold real estate within the same by grant from the crown.*

In 1747, by statute 20 George II., chap. 44, the benefits of the statute of 1740 were extended to the "Moravian Brethren, and other foreign Protestants, not Quakers, who conscientiously scruple the taking of an oath; many of whom are settled in the Colonies." They are described as a "sober, quiet, and industrious people;" and it is added, that "many others of the like persuasion are desirous to transport themselves thither."

* This clause in the statute was repealed by statute 13 George III., chap. 33, so far as concerned holding office or taking crown grants of land, except within the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The repeal extends to the subsequent statutes recited below.

The statute 29 George II., chap. 5, enacted in 1756, recites that many foreign Protestants have been induced by the statute of 1740 to settle in some of the Colonies, "particularly in the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania; the natural-born subjects of which last-mentioned Province do in great part consist of the people called Quakers, whose backwardness in their own defence exposes themselves and that part of America to imminent danger." On this account, provision is made for raising a regiment of four battalions, of one thousand men each, into which naturalized foreigners may be enlisted; and a certain number of foreigners who have served abroad as officers or engineers may be appointed to serve in the regiment, on taking the oaths, &c., as prescribed in the former statutes. The colonel of the regiment must be "a natural-born subject, and not any person naturalized or made a denizen."

In 1761, statute 2 George III., chap. 25, these officers were duly remembered. They had raised "a great number of men, and trained them to discipline as soldiers." Several of the officers had "purchased estates in the Colonies, and had given the strongest assurances of their attachment and fidelity to the British Government." On these grounds, and to induce others, then or thereafter settled in America, "to engage in his majesty's service," it provided "that all such foreign Protestants, as well officers as soldiers, who have served or shall hereafter serve in the Royal-American regiment,* or as engineers in America, for the space of two years, and shall take and subscribe the oaths, and make, repeat, and subscribe the declaration, &c., . . . shall be deemed . . . his majesty's natural-born subjects of this kingdom."

* General Gates, a native of England, was a major in the Royal Americans. At an earlier period in the French War, he was captain of a New-York Independent Company which served in the campaign of Braddock. He was severely wounded in the battle in which Braddock was defeated. In 1772, he emigrated to Virginia, and purchased an estate in Berkeley County.

The foregoing enumeration embraces all the English statute provisions in relation to naturalization in the Colonies preceding the Revolution. They are sufficiently liberal in term of residence required; and probably many foreign Protestants, in several of the Colonies, sought for the benefits opened by these statutes. But in Massachusetts, where the population was well-nigh homogeneous and Puritan, it was otherwise. In the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Suffolk, not one instance of naturalization is to be found from 1740 to 1752. Whether there were any between 1752 and the Revolution cannot be ascertained, as the records for the whole of that period are and have been missing from the office ever since the evacuation of Boston, in March, 1776.*

The records of the Superior Court of the Province for all the Counties are kept in the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court, in Boston; and it is remarkable, as the result of a careful search which I directed to be made from 1740 up to the Revolution, that only four persons were naturalized in that court.† No book, such as the judge was required to keep, is to be found; and there is none in the office of the Secretary of State. The only persons naturalized under these laws were Nicholas Budd, Aaron Lopez, Emanuel Peraro, and Theodore Dehon.

The following is an abstract of the record in each case: —

* At one time, it was thought that they were in Halifax, N.S.; and an early effort was made to find them, but in vain. The late William C. Aylwin, Esq., when clerk, met with no better success. Thinking, possibly, that they might have been taken to England, I applied to my friend Rev. Joseph Hunter, of London, a learned antiquary, and intimately acquainted with the public archives; but he had never seen or heard of the missing volumes.

† The reason may have been, that the petitioner for naturalization must have received the sacrament in a Protestant reformed congregation within three months previous. This would have required him either to become a member of the Episcopal Church, or else to join a Congregational, Presbyterian, or other dissenting church,—all of which were hedged in with creeds.

Superior Court of Judicature, from 1741 to 1780.—Naturalizations.

Nicholas Budd . . .	Nov. 17, 1741 . . .	Page 135
Aaron Lopez . . .	Oct. 15, 1762 . . .	„ 450
Emanuel Peraro . . .	Sept. 8, 1766 . . .	„ 110
Theodore Dehon . . .	March 23, 1767 . . .	„ 212

Upon reading the petition of Nicholas Budd, a native of Norway, in the kingdom of Denmark, but now resident in Boston, showing that by evidences, and a certificate herewith presented, he, conceiving himself to be duly qualified for and entitled to naturalization, according to an Act made in the thirteenth year of his present majesty's reign, and thereupon praying that he may be naturalized according to said Act of Parliament, — *Ordered*, That the prayer of the petition be granted; it appearing to the court that the said Nicholas Budd has been an inhabitant of his majesty's dominions for more than seven years last past, and has within three months last past received the sacrament in a Protestant reformed congregation in this town of Boston. The oaths appointed to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were administered to him by order of court, and subscribed by him; and he made and subscribed the declaration according to the direction of the said Act of Parliament.

Aaron Lopez, of Swansey, in the county of Bristol, merchant, a Jew, formerly residing at Newport, in the Colony of Rhode Island, &c., — to wit, at said Newport from Oct. 13, 1752, to Sept. 10, 1762, and at said Swansey since, — took and subscribed the oaths, &c., in presence of the chief justice and other three justices, between the hours of nine and twelve in the morning.*

Emanuel Peraro, a Portuguese, now of Boston, mariner, where he has resided for more than seven years, and not been absent for more than two months, proof made thereof, and of his having received the sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England, was admitted, and took and subscribed the oaths before the chief justice and other justices, between the hours aforesaid.

* Lopez was a Jew. In 1777, with several other Jewish families, he removed to Leicester, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and was there extensively engaged in trade. He was a man of intelligence and industry, and became thrifty according to the wont of his people.

See Washburn's History of Leicester for some further account of Lopez and other Jewish residents in that town.

Theodore Dehon, now of Boston, born out of the legiance of his majesty the King of Great Britain, resided in said Boston more than seven years, and not been absent, &c.; that he is a Protestant, and of the communion of the Church of England. And said Theodore, on certificate of his having received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the church aforesaid, was admitted, and took and subscribed the oaths before the chief justice and two other justices, between the hours, &c.

Turning from the English statutes, it is next to be ascertained whether the Colonial charters clothed the local government with authority to create British subjects within their respective Colonies.

By the Massachusetts-Colony Charter, the governor, assistants, and freemen had power to choose others to be free of the company, and to transport "so many of our loving subjects, or any other strangers that will become our loving subjects and live under our allegiance, as shall willingly accompany them in the same voyages and 'plantation.'" Under this provision of the charter, there would seem to be no difficulty in supposing that they did or might admit foreign Protestants to become freemen. If any such strayed this way, men of orthodox lives and conversation, according to the standard, and were admitted to the church, as they might be, what prevented their being made free, on petition to that end? By joining the church, the door was open which gave a view of civil and political privileges in the near distance. No one could be admitted to freedom, unless he was a member of one of the churches; and, being a member, admission was almost of course, if applied for.* The colonists were still a "company," an incorporated company, with power to

* None could be compelled to become freemen; and, after a while, it came to be a sore evil that many church members refrained from applying for admission. They did so that they might not be called to public service as constables, jurors, selectmen, &c. In order to meet their case, a fine was imposed on all such who refused service.—*Colonial Laws*, 1647.

admit or refuse admission as they pleased; in other words, to select associates according to their pleasure and their sympathies, within the prescribed limits. These would then, in the language of the charter, "become our loving subjects, and live under our allegiance." Of course, they would only be subjects within the Colony, with no power to exercise civil and political functions in England. It may be that the case never occurred; but, if it did occur, it is not seen how any other result could have been reached.

In the Province Charter, there was no express provision authorizing the naturalization of foreigners; and none can be gathered by implication.

In New Hampshire, there is nothing on the subject, either in the commission of Charles II. to President Cutts, or in the commission of 6 George III. to Governor Wentworth.

In Rhode Island, the charter of 15 Charles II. authorized the Assembly to choose persons to be free of the company and body politic, and to admit them into the same. The charter made no distinction between English subjects and others.

So, in Connecticut, the charter of Charles II. allowed the General Assembly to choose, &c., persons to be free of the body politic, and to admit them into the same.

In New York, by the letters-patent of 16 Charles II. to the Duke of York, the duke was allowed to bring into the Colony not only subjects of the realm, "but any other strangers who would become subjects." And, when the Province was surrendered to the crown, it was stipulated that "all people should continue free denizens" within the Colony; and "that any people might come from the Netherlands, and plant" in the Province.

In New Jersey, in 1664, under the government of Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, all who wished were admitted to become freemen, and so subjects, on taking the oaths

of allegiance, &c. Being *absolute* lords-proprietors, they were not limited in their authority, as were the charter governments.

In Pennsylvania, by the "laws agreed upon in England" in 1683, "every inhabitant purchasing a hundred acres; every person who has paid his passage, and taken a hundred acres; every person that hath been a servant or bondman, and 'is free by his service,' and has taken fifty acres; 'and every inhabitant, artificer, or other resident in the Province, that pays scot or lot* to the governor,'—shall be deemed a freeman, and capable of electing or being elected representative or councillor."†

In Maryland, Lord Baltimore, by the charter of 8 Charles I., was constituted "the true and absolute lord and proprietary," and of course, as such, had the power to authorize his Assembly to grant process of naturalization; which power, as will be seen in the sequel, was exercised.

In North Carolina, no such power was reserved in the charter of Charles II.

The next inquiry is, Did any of the Colonies, in their local Legislatures, establish laws on the subject, or lay claim of right so to do? Mr. Dane, the learned and generally very accurate commentator on American law, states that "there were no naturalizations in the Colonies, before the Revolution, but such as took place under the Acts of the British Parliament."‡ The remarks before made on the charters show

* Scot and lot is defined to be "parish payments."

† Colonial Records, vols. i., xxix., xxx.

‡ Abridgment of American Law, vol. iv. p. 708. Mr. Dane also states, p. 709, that "the Germans who came from Germany, and settled at Waldborough about A.D. 1750, were and remained aliens." Perhaps this was so; but then it must have been of their own choice; for, so far as they were Protestants,—and most if not all of them were of that faith,—they might have been naturalized under the statute of 13 George II., chap. 7, passed in 1740.

that he is in error; and this will appear beyond question by the following reference to the laws of several of the Colonies.

In 1683, "to quiet the minds of his majesty's subjects of foreign birth," the Legislature of New York passed an Act, allowing all persons professing Christianity, now or hereafter becoming inhabitants, to be naturalized on taking the oath of allegiance. This phrase, "all persons professing Christianity," is found in no other Colonial law, and doubtless was introduced because the Duke of York was a Roman Catholic; and the king was well known to be in full sympathy with his brother, though outwardly conforming to the Church of England. Again: by a law of 1715, 1 George I., foreigners who had become inhabitants after 1683, who had purchased estates and conveyed them away, or who had died seized thereof, were deemed to be naturalized; and all Protestant foreigners, inhabitants in 1715, were to be deemed natural subjects on taking the prescribed oaths within nine months from the passage of the Act.*

In New Jersey, as has been seen, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, in 1664, among their "Grants and Concessions," allowed all who would become subjects to be admitted to become freemen on taking the oaths of allegiance; and authorized the Assembly to pass an Act "to give to all strangers . . . a naturalization, . . . and all such freedoms and privileges within the Province as to his majesty's subjects of right belong."†

And in Pennsylvania, as has been seen, by the laws agreed upon in England in 1683, the most ample power was given in the premises.

So also in Maryland, under the successors of Sir George Calvert, — Lord Baltimore: "The true and absolute lords

* Laws of New York, Livingston and Smith's edition, 1762. 2 vols. folio.

† "Grants and Concessions," pp. 13, 14, 17. Folio.

and proprietaries." The same power was vested in the Assembly.*

In Virginia, there was a law of 1671, under which "any strangers"—as the expression was—might be naturalized; and, by virtue of this law, many were naturalized by special Acts of the Assembly. This continued until 1680, when Lord Culpepper brought over, "under the great seal of England," a naturalization law, which was introduced, "and passed the Assembly unanimously."

In October, 1705, another naturalization law was passed. The latter law at least, if not the previous ones, was confined to foreign Protestants; they taking the usual oaths, and the oath of abjuration of "the pretended Prince of Wales."

In 1738, chap. 12, the General Assembly authorized the Governor to grant letters of naturalization to any aliens who should settle on the Roanoke,—the southern boundary of the Colony; they taking the oaths, &c.

In Massachusetts, as before stated, there was neither express nor implied authority in the General Court to pass laws on the subject, nor by special Acts to admit foreigners to the privileges of British subjects.

The statute of Anne, 1708, repealed in 1711, had no reference to the Colonies; and there was no subsequent English statute, until that of 13 George II. in 1740, by which foreigners residing in Massachusetts could become British subjects. Indeed, it was so from the revocation of the Colony Charter until 1740. Meanwhile, many foreign Protestants had settled in Massachusetts,—Huguenots driven from France on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, with Germans and others who had emigrated to this country for the "enlargement of their outward estates." These persons were subjected to the

* The law itself has not been found on the old Statute-book. It may have been overlooked. But that the power was freely exercised, appears from statute 1704, chap. 4, regulating for the future the fees which the Clerk of the Assembly should receive from persons naturalized by Acts of the Assembly.

payment of taxes, and sometimes were called to exercise municipal office; but, in all other respects, they were debarred from the rights and privileges of natural-born subjects. They were not numerous in the Puritan Commonwealth, compared with some of the other Colonies; but numerous enough to be considered on that ground, as well as for their general good character and quiet demeanor.

Possibly Massachusetts thought, that if Maryland, Virginia, and other sister Colonies, permitted resident foreigners to become British subjects within their own borders, she might do the same.

Thus circumstanced, several French Protestants, and one from Germany, presented the following petition to the General Court, at the February Session, 1731, N.S.:—

“To His Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq., Governor and Commander-in-chief in and over his Majesty’s Province of Massachusetts Bay; to the Honorable the Council and the House of Representatives in General Court assembled.

“The petition of the persons hereto subscribed sheweth that the petitioners, for the most part, were forced to leave their native country of France on account of the Protestant religion, in which they had been bred up and professed, and for which some of the petitioners have been greatly persecuted and distressed.

“And, farther, the petitioners most humbly remonstrate to your Excellency and to this Great and General Assembly, that the most part of them have, for almost the space of forty years or upwards (during which time they have chiefly resided in this country), behaved themselves justly to their neighbours, and, in their respective callings, with unshaken fidelity towards the government here, and the crown of Great Britain; and have been allways subjected as well as to pay rates and taxes, as also to bear offices of constable, &c., which several of them have sustained and executed with great faithfulness in their respective dutys: so that they hope, by the favour of this Great and General Court (which is well known at all times to act with great equity, and to relieve, where they can, the distressed), that as they have been always subject to do dutys, so they may be intituled to all the privileges of a denisen, or natural-born subject, of his majesty’s,

so far as is consistent with the power and justice of this Great and General Court; it being what hath been generally practiced by most nations of Europe in favour of the French Protestant refugees, but more particularly by the crown of Great Britain and the dependent Colonys, as the petitioners can prove by many instances. Therefore, upon the whole, the petitioners do humbly pray an order of this Great and General Court to confer upon them the rights and privileges of denizens, or free-born subjects, of the King of Great Britain; or be otherwise relieved, notwithstanding any law, usage, or custom, to the contrary; or that they may be farther heard by the Council in the premises. They say relieved as this Great and General Court shall judge meet; and, as in duty bound, your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Andren Le Mercier.

Samuel Johannis

Andrew Sigourney: Per

John Peter

Adam Duchesneau

Martin Brimmer

*The same favour is humbly Desired by
a protestant German Came from Hanover*

"In Council, Feb. 25, 1730. — Read, and ordered that the prayer of the petition be so far granted as that the petitioners, together with all other foreign Protestant inhabitants of this Province, shall, within this Province, hold and enjoy all the privileges and immunities of his majesty's natural-born subjects; and that they have leave to bring in a bill accordingly.

"Sent down for concurrence,

"J. WILLARD, *Secretary*.

"In the House of Representatives, Feb. 26, 1730. — Read and concurred.

"J. QUINCY, *Speaker*."

In pursuance of this leave, a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives, which passed to be enacted on the 16th of March, and was approved by Governor Belcher on the 2d of April following. It is in the following terms; viz.: —

"Passed by the Great and General Court, or Assembly, of his majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, begun and held at Boston upon Wednesday, the tenth day of February, 1730.

"Chapter XIV. — An Act for Naturalizing Protestants of Foreign Nations inhabiting within this Province.

"Whereas divers Protestants of the French and other foreign nations have removed themselves and their families into this Province, who are well affected to his majesty's government, and useful members of the Commonwealth, but, being born out of the king's legiance, have not, by law, a right to the privileges and immunities of his majesty's natural-born subjects, but are under divers disabilities, and subjected to many inconveniences and difficulties in their persons and estates: —

"To the intent, therefore, that such persons, and all other well-disposed Protestants of foreign nations, may have due encouragement to settle themselves and their families within this Province, —

"Be it enacted by his Excellency the Governor, Council, and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, —

“That, from and after the publication of this Act, all Protestants, of foreign nations, that have inhabited or resided within this Province for the space of one year, are hereby declared to be naturalized to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever, within this Province; and from henceforth, and at all times hereafter, shall be entitled to have and enjoy all the rights, liberties, and privileges within this Province, and no otherwise, which his majesty’s natural-born subjects in the said Province ought to have and enjoy, as fully to all intents and purposes whatsoever as if they had been born within the said Province.

“Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, That all foreign Protestants that shall have the benefit of this Act shall take the oaths by law appointed to be taken, instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; subscribe the test, or declaration; and take, repeat, and subscribe the abjuration-oath,—in presence of the Governor and Council of this Province; which shall be made of record in the Council-books, and for which each person so swearing and subscribing shall pay to the Secretary of the Province five shillings; and he shall demand no more.

“And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any foreign Protestant, having so sworn and subscribed as aforesaid, shall and do demand a certificate of his being entered upon record in manner aforesaid, the Secretary of this Province, for the time being, is hereby directed and required to grant the same under his hand, for which he may demand two shillings and sixpence, and no more; which certificate shall at all times be a sufficient proof that such person is naturalized by this Act, and as effectual as if the record aforesaid were actually produced by them or any of them.”

The foregoing Act was passed to be enacted March 16, and was approved by Governor Belcher, April 2, 1731. The session began Feb. 10, and ended April 24, 1731.

It will be observed that this statute gives to those who are naturalized the same rights as natural-born subjects within the Province. Of course, no wider power could be exercised. No Colonial government, as before remarked, could confer rights and privileges to be exercised outside of the local jurisdiction, much less in the mother country. Parlia-

ment alone could give authority to widen a Colonial naturalization, so that the subject of it should be a denizen of the empire.*

Under this law, all the petitioners, except Duchezeau, — viz., Le Mercier,† Johonnot,‡ Sigourney,§ Petel,|| and Brimmer,¶ — appeared before the Governor and Council on the 12th of the same April, and were naturalized. They were followed, on the 7th of December then next, by Philip Bongarden,** John Brown (*nomen generalissimum*), John Saciller, John Groward, and Philip Palier. John Arnault, of Boston, furrier, closed the list on the 18th of August, 1732.

These are all the persons whose names appear on the

* In the statute of 7 and 8 Victoria, chap. 6, which freely opened the door for the admission of foreigners, a question is raised, whether the Colonial laws on the subject of naturalization were of any validity. In consequence of this doubt, the statute of 10 and 11 Victoria, chap. 83, was enacted in 1847; confirming all such laws already made, and allowing future laws touching local naturalization, subject to confirmation or disallowance by her majesty. No law of the kind could have any validity beyond the limits of the Colony in which it was made. It was further declared, that the statute of 7 and 8 Victoria, chap. 66, did not extend to the Colonies.

† In his will, dated at Dorchester, Nov. 7, 1761, with a codicil, February, 1764, proved June 15, 1764, he names children, — Andrew, Margaret, Jane, and Bartholomew, “if living.” His son Peter Le Mercier, born Aug. 7, 1723, is not named. No examination has been made to ascertain the time of his death. His daughter Jane (unmarried), living in Dorchester, in 1769 conveyed to William Dennie, of Boston, part of an estate, No. 18, Long Wharf, which she inherited from her father. The deed was not recorded till 1793.

‡ “Daniel Johonnot, of Boston, distiller,” in his will, May, 1748, proved July 1, 1748, names sons, — Zachary, Andrew, and Francis; and the children of his daughter, Mary Ann (Johonnot) Boyer, deceased.

§ “Andrew Sigourney, sen., of Boston, distiller, aged and infirm,” made his will in May, 1736. It was proved July 5, 1748. His children were Andrew (mariner), Susanna, Mary, Charles, Anthony, Daniel, Hannah. His wife Mary survived him.

|| “John Petel, of Boston, mariner, made his will, June 30, 1735. It was proved May 9, 1749. He was a married man, but left no children.

¶ “Martin Brimmer, of Boston, staymaker,” in his will, April 3, 1755, proved June 24, 1760, mentions wife Susanna, and four sons — viz., Herman, Martin, Andrew, and John Baker — and four daughters.

** “Philip Bongarden, of Boston, shopkeeper,” made his will, June 24, 1748. It was proved April 20, 1753. He names his wife; his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Æneas Mackay; and his grandson, Philip Cutler. In 1748, he became the owner of some real estate on the northerly side of State Street.

Council-records. Why so few sought the benefit of this law, is not known. The number of foreign Protestants, at least French Protestants, may have been more numerous for a few years after 1687 than they were in 1731; but there were others — respectable men, who might be named — here in the latter year who do not seem to have become subjects of Massachusetts Bay. Perhaps they were naturalized in Great Britain, or in some other of "the dependent colonys" (*ante*, p. 16).

At the present day, descendants of Sigourney, Johonnot, and Brimmer, bear up the respectable character of their earliest American ancestors; while of Groward and Palier no vestiges have been discovered. In May, 1748, Brown and Arnault, two of the proprietors of the French Church in School Street, in connection with the remaining proprietors, — viz., "Stephen Botineau (the only surviving elder of the church), Andrew Le Mercier (clerk, minister of said church), Zechariah Johonnot, Andrew Johonnot, James Packenet, William Bowdoin, and Andrew Sigourney, — conveyed the church-property to the trustees of the new Congregational Church, of which the Rev. Andrew Crosswell was pastor.*

Rev. Mr. Le Mercier was successor to Rev. Peter Daillé, who died in May, 1715. The former, surviving the diminution and dissolution of his society, went to his rest, in Boston, in March, 1764. He was held in esteem, in the place of his adoption, for his Christian virtues and graces.†

It only remains to speak of Bongarden and Saciller, and that in connection with the Palatines. Beyond this connection, nothing has been ascertained in relation to Saciller.

In March, 1732, Philip Bongarden and John Saciller, as

* Drake's History of Boston; Suffolk Registry of Deeds.

† The late Rev. Dr. Holmes published a very interesting "Memoir of the French Protestants, who settled at Oxford, Mass., A.D. 1686; with a Sketch of the entire History of the Protestants of France." See Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. ii. 3d series, pp. 1-83.

“agents for the Palatines,” made complaint to the Governor and Council of “the cruel and inhuman treatment” the Palatines received “from Captain Jacob Lobb, in their passage from Holland, by reason of which the greatest part of their company died at sea; and of his barbarous usage of the survivors after their arrival at Martha’s Vineyard, which had occasioned the death of divers others; and prayed that exemplary justice might be done on the said Lobb.” The Council referred the complainants, with their papers, to the Superior Court.

Two indictments were found against Lobb at the April Term of the Superior Court in Barnstable. Lobb was a Cornwall man from Penzance, and was on a voyage from Rotterdam to Philadelphia; having in his vessel more than a hundred Palatines, who went on board at Rotterdam in June, 1731. The vessel was obliged to put into the Vineyard in November, while on the voyage to Philadelphia. Lobb was charged with occasioning the death of Johannes Youngman, about two years of age; son of John Didrick Youngman; and Jacob Comes, jun., about the age of nine years, a Palatine, son of Jacob Comes, — by detaining them on board the vessel after she reached Holmes’s Hole; that the child Youngman was infirm and sickly, and languished and died by reason of not being furnished by Lobb with sufficient food to sustain life; and that Comes also died of hunger. According to the allegations in the indictment, Lobb was under contract to supply the passengers with provisions for the voyage. The jury returned verdicts in favor of the captain.

In the latter part of the same month, Bongarden and Saciller made complaint to the Governor and Council of other troubles suffered by the Palatines at Edgartown, inasmuch as Lobb refused to save the town harmless for their support, and the authorities threatened to imprison and sell them to satisfy charges. The Council acted promptly on this complaint.

In July following, Bongarden alone preferred a third petition, by which it appeared that the poor Palatines — now more than a year from home, and still distant from their destination — were in Duke's-County Jail at the suit of Lobb, pending in the Court of Common Pleas; and that Payne and Zaccheus Mayhew, two of the justices, had so far engaged in "the controversy as to be liable to a bias" in Lobb's favor. The Council, on investigation, being satisfied that the Mayhews had taken sides with Lobb, set them aside in all causes between him and the Palatines, and appointed Joseph Lathrop and John Thacher special justices in their place.

In May, 1736, the Council recognized the humanity and fidelity of Philip Bongarden, and allowed him for his "charge, time, and trouble," on account of the Palatines, the sum of £173. 16s.

The law of the Province of Massachusetts, which has been under notice, is not found in any edition of the general laws; so that its existence seems to be unknown at the present day. The Province Charter required that all laws should be transmitted to the king, "under the public seal, . . . for approbation or disallowance." If disallowed and rejected by the king in Privy Council, within three years after being presented, and so signified under the king's "sign-manual and signet," or "by the Privy Council to the Governor," they became thenceforth "void, and of none effect;" but, if not returned within three years, they remained in force.

There is nothing to be found in the office of the Secretary of State to show that this law was returned to the Governor, except the fact that the law appears nowhere, save in a little pamphlet of temporary enactments. This, however, may be considered full proof; and, as there was no naturalization after that of Arnault in August, 1732, it is a fair inference that the law soon afterwards came to an untimely death.

It is a matter of history that Provincial laws were disallowed by the king; and how then can it be accounted for

that no veto or disallowance thereof, "under the king's sign-manual or signet," or "by the Privy Council to the Governor," is to be found on file, or in any way alluded to, in the records at the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth?*

It only remains to consider the subject of naturalization in Massachusetts, from the date of the Declaration of Independence until near the close of the last century,—six years after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

By the Declaration of Independence, the Colonies assumed the position of independent States; and, under the Confederation, several of them passed naturalization laws, while others naturalized foreigners by special Acts. There was no uniform system.

"The dissimilarity in the rules of naturalization," says Mr. Madison, "has long been remarked as a fault in our system, and as laying a foundation for intricate and delicate questions." In referring to the confusion of language in the fourth article of the Confederation, he adds, "In one State, residence for a short time confers all the rights of citizenship; in another, qualifications of greater importance are required. An alien, therefore, legally incapacitated for certain rights in the latter, may, by previous residence only in the former, elude his incapacity, and thus the laws of one State be preposterously rendered paramount to the law of another within the jurisdiction of the other."†

This dissimilarity in the rules "gave rise, under the Confederation, to some intricate and delicate questions."‡

* I have found no reason assigned for the disallowance of this law. Was it from any known or supposed difference between the charter governments and the proprietary and royal governments in this respect? We have seen that other Colonies exercised the jurisdiction; and the Huguenots themselves say in their petition (*ante*, p. 16), that many of their brethren have been naturalized by "the dependent Colonys" of Great Britain, "as the petitioners can prove by many instances."

† The Federalist, No. xlii.

‡ Duer's Lectures on Constitutional Jurisprudence, p. 296.

There was no general naturalization law in Massachusetts under the Constitution of 1780; but individuals were admitted to citizenship by special Acts, the earliest of which was June 27, 1782. It appeared in this case that Michael Cunningham and John Prescott, late of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, "had exerted themselves for the relief of American prisoners at Halifax, and, in many instances, opposed British tyranny; espousing the cause of America, and fleeing to this country to pay obedience to, and receive protection from, its laws." As a reward, and "to encourage such well-disposed foreigners to join themselves to us,"—"on taking and subscribing the oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and other oaths required by the laws of the Commonwealth, before any two Justices of the Peace,"—Cunningham and Prescott "were to be deemed, adjudged, and taken to be, natural subjects of the Commonwealth, to all intents, &c., as if they had been born in the Commonwealth."

The Justices were required to make return to the Secretary of the Commonwealth, "who shall record the same in a book, to be kept among the public records of the Commonwealth for the purpose of recording the names of such foreigners as shall be hereafter naturalized by Acts of the Commonwealth."

The following persons were allowed to be naturalized; but whether they all took the oaths, and actually became subjects or citizens, it is not easy to ascertain, as the book kept by the secretary cannot now be found.* No particular length of residence was required before naturalization. Several of these individuals and families, residents in Boston, will be recognized by those familiar with the society of the place in the earlier part of the present century.†

* The title of this book is found in the catalogue kept at the office of the Secretary of State; but the book itself has not been seen for some years.

† Many notes might be made in addition to those which follow, were it worth while to pursue the investigation.

Among those naturalized, there were several persons who had left the State during the Revolution, and adhered to the crown, or, in the words of the statute, had "joined the enemies of the State." In the heat of the war, — September, 1778, — an Act was passed forbidding their return to the State, and providing for their removal in case of return. Should they voluntarily come into the State a second time, "without leave from the General Court," they were, "on conviction before the Superior Court, to suffer the pains of death, without benefit of clergy."

All those persons who left the Province after the 5th of October, 1774, and before the "making" of the Constitution of the Commonwealth, and had taken English protection, were held to be aliens. By a law of 1784, these persons, if not named in the Confiscation Act of 1779, and not having borne arms against their country, might return to the State, under license from the Governor and Council. This license remained in force until the end of the next session of the General Court; at which time, unless the General Court had approved the license, or an Act of naturalization had been passed in favor of the individual, he was required "to depart the State."

1782, June 27. Michael Cunningham, John Prescott.

1784, Feb. 13. John Gardiner, barrister-at-law. John Silvester John* and William Gardiner, his children. [His wife, Ann Gardiner, is mentioned in the title of the Act, but was omitted in the enacting clause. The omission was supplied Oct. 25, 1787.]

Mar. 23. Thomas Hopkins, of Falmouth, Cumberland County, late of Devonshire, Great Britain.

June 30. Thomas Robison, of Falmouth, Cumberland County, late of Quebec.

1785, Feb. 28. Nicholas Rousselet, Boston, auctioneer.

George Smith, Andover, laborer.

* The late Rev. Dr. Gardiner, of Trinity Church, Boston.

- 1785, Nov. 22. Paul Beltremieux, Newburyport, late of Rochelle, France.
- „ 23. William Bond, Falmouth, Cumberland County, goldsmith, late of Devonshire, in Great Britain.
- 1786, Feb. 7. Michael Walsh, Salisbury.
- „ 8. William Erving, Esq., Boston.
John Duballet,* Boston.
- „ 17. James Wakefield, born in Massachusetts, but for fifteen years past residing in Nova Scotia. Ann Wakefield, his wife. Their children, — Benjamin, Ann, Terence,† Mary.
- June 5. Robert Morris, Shrewsbury.
James Alexander, Shrewsbury.
- July 7. Jonathan Curson, Northampton, late of Exeter, England.
William Oliver, Northampton, late of Bridport, England.
- 1787, Mar. 2. William Martin and Elizabeth Martin, Boston.
William Moch,‡ Boston.
John Amory,§ Boston.
David Smith, and Elizabeth his wife, Portland. Their children, — Moses, Ruth, Mercy, Lendall, David, Elizabeth, Hannah, Dorothy, Godfrey.
William Molton, Portland.
William Haggett, „
John Nicholas Rudberg, and Anne his wife, Portland.
Thomas Craigie, Billerica.
- May 1. Edward Wyer,|| and Alice his wife. “His” children, — Edward and William.
David Greene, and Rebecca his wife. “His” children, — John Rose Greene, David Ireland Greene,¶ Charles Winston Greene,** Rebecca Greene.

* Merchant, Distil-house Square. — *Boston Directory*, 1789.

† For many years a druggist and apothecary in Boston.

‡ Hairdresser, 28, Newbury Street. — *Boston Directory*, 1789. By statute 1807, chap. 122, his son William was allowed to take the name of Andrew Jeremiah Allen.

§ Storekeeper, 41, Marlborough Street. — *Boston Directory*, 1789.

|| He was a physician in Boston, held in great esteem. There are many living who remember his son Edward.

¶ Harvard College, 1800.

** Harvard College, 1802.

1787, May 1. Thomas English.*

Oct. 29. Bartholomy de Gregoire,† and Maria Theresa his wife. Their children,—Pierre de Gregoire, Nicholas de Gregoire, Maria de Gregoire.

Nov. 16. Alexander Moore, Boston, merchant.

Isaac Smith, " clerk.

John Deverell, " silversmith.

John Gregory, " merchant.

David Poignand, " merchant, and Delicia his wife.

Abraham Bazin, " merchant.

Henry Smith, " merchant, and Elizabeth his wife. Henry Lloyd Smith, Elizabeth, Catharina, Rebecca, and Anna Smith.

Benjamin Pickman, Esq., Salem.

William Pratt,‡ Boston, merchant, from London.

Kirk Boot,‡ " " " "

Mary, his wife; Frances, their daughter.

1788, June 19. William Menzies Douglass, late of Great Britain.

Paul Crocker, and Lydia his wife. Their grand-children,—Joanna Crocker Chute, Paul Crocker Chute, George Washington Chute, Lunenburg, late of Annapolis, in Nova Scotia.

* A merchant, No. 11, Long Wharf.—*Boston Directory*, 1789. He was the father of James L. English, Esq., of Boston.

† Madame Gregoire came to America with a letter of introduction from Lafayette to General Knox, dated Paris, Aug. 1, 1786. "I thought," says the marquis, "my best way was to introduce her to you, who can, better than any one else, advise her how to act, and give her accounts of the frontier, where she says she has some property."

This lady was a grand-daughter of Mons. La Motte Cadillac, to whom the King of France granted a patent of the Island of Mount Desert in 1691. Under this patent, Madam Gregoire claimed the island. "It would seem," says Williamson (*History of Maine*, vol. ii. p. 515), "to have been a claim too antiquated and obsolete to be regarded: but the government was so highly disposed at this time 'to cultivate mutual confidence and union between the subjects of his most Christian majesty and the citizens of this State,' that the General Court were induced first to naturalize the petitioners and their family, and then quit-claim to them all the interest the Commonwealth had to the island; reserving only, to actual settlers, lots of one hundred acres."

The whole island had been confiscated, in the Revolution, as the property of Governor Bernard; but, as his son John had been a consistent Whig throughout the war, the Commonwealth restored to him *one-half* of it.—*Ibid.*

‡ Messrs. Pratt and Boot, from moderate beginnings, became extensively engaged in mercantile business.

1788, June 19. François Bertodi, of the kingdom of Prussia.*

Nov. 21. Elisha Bourn, Sandwich, late subject of Great Britain.

Seth Perry, " " " " " "

Edward Bourn, " " " " " "

Richard Devereux, Parsonfield, late of Ireland.

William Jolly, Portland, late of St. Pierre, Martinico.

Jeremiah Joakim Khaler, Boston, late subject of Denmark.

Phillip Theobald, Pownalborough, from Hesse Hannau.

John de Polerisky, " late of Molsheim, in Alsatia, France.

1789, Feb. 14. James Huyman,† Boston, late of Rotterdam.

James Henry Laugier de Tassy, Boston, late of the Seven United Provinces.

Samuel Weston, Boston, late of the Island of Madeira.

John Hicks, and Fanny Hicks his daughter, Boston.

Frederick William Geyer, Boston.

Charles Vaughan, Hallowell.

William Davis, Windsor, Berkshire, late of Great Britain.

James Scobie, Marblehead, late of Scotland.

Daniel Wright, and Katy his wife, Salem, late of Great Britain.

Nathaniel Chandler, Petersham.

June 22. Nathaniel Skinner,‡ Boston, late of London.

James Scott,§ Boston, native of Great Britain.

James Scott, jun., " " " " "

George Shinnits, " " " Prussia.

Martin Coning, " late of Amsterdam.

Akurs Sisson, Dartmouth.

1790, Mar. 1. John Jarvis.

Lewis Leprilete.||

John Fowler.

* In the Act of naturalization, Dr. Bertodi is called of "Persia;" a typographical error for "Prussia." He left a son, who, I believe, is the sole representative of the name in this country.

† Merchant, Foster's Wharf. — *Boston Directory*, 1789.

‡ He was a merchant.

§ The second husband of Madam Hancock.

|| Dr. Leprilete resided at Jamaica Plain.

- 1790, Mar. 1. Alexander McDonald.
 William Welch.*
 Peter Le Mercier, and his children, — Polly Eugenia,
 Sophia Cecile, and Peter Oliver Le Mercier.†
 Thomas Lane.
 William Cleland.‡
 John Pennell.
 John Bond.
- Mar. 6. John Montgomery.
 James Green.
 Nathan Kelley.
 Stephen Jones.
 Thomas Ramsden.
 John Sockman.
- 1791, Mar. 11. John White.
 Roger Dickinson.
 John Atkinson, and Elizabeth his wife. "His" chil-
 dren, — John Atkinson, jun., Charles Atkinson,
 Eliza Storer Atkinson, George Hodgson Atkinson,
 Mary Ann Atkinson, Caroline Frances Atkinson,
 and William Atkinson.
- 1793, Mar. 9. George William Erving.§
 Sept. 28. Pierre Briamant, Boston.
- 1794, Feb. 27. Henry Huetson Pentland.
 June 24. Thomas Neil.||
 Robert Getty.||
 Robert Holt.

* Father of the late John Welch, Esq.

† Thus the names stand in the Act of naturalization. But their names, I suppose, are more correctly given in the record of their guardianship, in Suffolk, in March, 1802; viz., "Eugene Sophia, Cecile Charlotte, and Peter Olivier Lemerrier." They were then placed under the guardianship of Earl Sturtevant. Eugene and Cecile were over fourteen years of age, and Peter Olivier under fourteen. The father, perhaps a grandson of the minister, is entitled "Peter Lemerrier, late of France, deceased."

In March, 1828, Eugene Sophia, "widow of George C. Flynn;" Cecile Charlotte, "wife of Henry Williams, of Boston;" and Peter Olivier Lemerrier, — discharged the bond of guardianship. Williams was well known as a portrait painter.

‡ A broker in Boston.

§ He was educated at Oxford. He was consul at London, and afterwards was appointed ambassador to Spain by Mr. Jefferson.

|| Traders in Boston.

The Legislature passed a law, June 9, 1792, allowing all persons, proscribed under any of the laws of the State, to be naturalized in the same manner and on the same conditions as provided for other aliens by the Act of Congress "establishing an uniform rule of naturalization," 1790, chap. 3.

It will be observed by the foregoing list that the Legislature of Massachusetts continued to naturalize "aliens" as late as the June Session in the year 1794,—more than four years after Congress had made provision for naturalization, pursuant to the power contained in the Constitution of the United States. This may have been because the Legislature did not consider the power to be exclusive in Congress;* or because there may have been a question, whether the statute of 1790 was prospective,—the provision being, "that any alien, being a free white person, who *shall have resided* within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States for the term of two years," &c. The next statute, 1795, chap. 20, was prospective as well as retrospective; and, after its passage, Massachusetts ceased from all further exercise of jurisdiction.

AUGUST MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held at the rooms of the Society, No. 30, Tremont Street, Boston, this day, Thursday, the 11th of August.

In the absence of the President, the members were called to order by the Recording Secretary; and Hon.

* Indeed, so late as 1817, in the Supreme Court of the United States, counsel, in arguing a question in relation to the Maryland law of naturalization, 1780, intimated "that the respective States still preserve the right of making naturalization, giving certain civil rights to foreigners, without conferring political citizenship." *Chirac vs. Chirac*.—*Wheaton's Reports*, vol. ii. p. 264. The court, however, held that the exclusive power of Congress was incontrovertible.

EMORY WASHBURN, Chairman of the Standing Committee, was chosen to preside.

The Librarian being absent, the Recording Secretary announced donations from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the New-Jersey Historical Society; the New-York-State Agricultural Society; the Trustees of the New-York-State Library; the Smithsonian Institution; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; W. F. Goodwin, Esq.; Rev. E. W. Maxey; J. W. Thornton, Esq.; Rev. Edwin M. Stone; Thomas Waterman, Esq.; W. A. Whitehead, Esq.; and from Messrs. Jenks, Lowell, Robbins, Webb, and Whitney, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary communicated letters of acceptance of membership from Rev. Charles Lowell, D.D., and Rev. Lord Arthur Hervey of England.

Mr. DEANE, from the Committee on the Publication of the Catalogue of the Society's Library, reported that the first volume, including the letters A-L, had been printed; and asked for directions from the Society with reference to the binding of the volume.

On motion, it was *Voted*, That the subject be left to the discretion of the Standing Committee, with full powers to procure the binding of as many copies as they may deem advisable.

The Chair announced, in appropriate terms, the decease of Hon. Rufus Choate, a Resident Member of the Society; and, at the instance of the Standing Committee, offered the following Resolutions:—

Resolved, That whereas, among the names of the illustrious men whose death has consecrated the memory of the passing year, the Massachusetts Historical Society recognize with

painful interest and unaffected sorrow that of their honored and esteemed associate Rufus Choate, they would hereby record their high appreciation of the affluence of learning, the brilliancy and power of eloquence, and the unfailing courtesy of manner and kindness of heart, which made him eminent in letters, conspicuous in the Senate, unsurpassed in the forum, and the delightful friend and companion in social life.

Resolved, That in him the country has lost one of her most gifted sons; the bar, its brightest ornament; literature, an accomplished scholar; this Society, a loved and valued associate; and his family, an object of devoted affection as a husband and father, the qualities of whose heart endeared him most to those who knew him best.

Judge WHITE seconded the resolutions, and paid a just and affecting tribute to Mr. Choate, whose professional career he had watched with interest from its commencement at Salem, when, as a member of the Essex Bar, he gave indications of those distinguished abilities which he has since displayed.

He was followed by Mr. CHANDLER, who spoke as follows; viz.:—

Although the bar, in various counties, had already held meetings and taken suitable action on the decease of Mr. Choate; and although the citizens, at a public meeting in Faneuil Hall, had testified their sense of this great public bereavement,—it still was eminently proper that this Society, of which he was a member nearly a quarter of a century, should take some action upon the removal of an associate so distinguished and so able. It was true that our deceased associate was too much absorbed in the engrossing cares of professional life, for the past few years, to take much active share in the deliberations and labors of the Society; but the subject of

their investigations was one in which he took great interest. It has long been a proverbial expression, that the law is a jealous mistress; but the remark is applicable to every profession and all human avocations, where the highest excellence is sought for. First-class men are not men of one idea; but they are usually men who devote themselves almost exclusively to one occupation or profession, with the determination to do one thing well, rather than attempt a variety with indifferent success.

Mr. Choate's greatness as a lawyer, apart from his remarkable natural powers, must be attributed to his intense love for and his enthusiastic devotion to its duties, and to an almost utter self-abnegation while engaged in the practice of his vocation. His power of application was most extraordinary. He was so pressed and absorbed by professional engagements, that it was often difficult to consult him at any length; and, in the preliminary preparations of a cause, he did not manifest the zeal and enthusiasm that might be expected. Indeed, there was sometimes a feeling that he took little or no interest in the success of his client. But, when the trial was fairly commenced, his whole energies, all of his powers, were completely absorbed. To those who have never been associated with him, it is impossible to convey any adequate idea of his entire devotion to the cause on trial. Nothing escaped his attention. He never confessed defeat; he never lost heart; he never was discouraged; and at every adverse turn in the evidence, at every discouraging ruling of the judge, his energies seemed to rise to meet the new emergency; and the fertility of his resources was wonderful.

Nor, in his arduous labors, did he seem to be influenced by the ordinary selfish considerations of other men. Most of our race are looking forward to some especial and prospective benefit as a reward for present exertions. The desire of wealth, the love of power, official position, an old age of ease, the "Sabine farm" in the distance, — these not seldom appear

with considerable distinctness; but not with him. He appeared to labor for the love of it. He found his reward in doing the work which was set before him.

The magnitude of the cause or the character of the tribunal seemed to make no difference. Whenever and wherever he appeared,—whether in the highest tribunal in the land, or before the humblest magistrate known to the law,—there was sure to be a hard struggle. I have known him contest a trifling matter before a Master in Chancery for several weeks, where the compensation must have been entirely inadequate. The ablest argument I ever heard him make, and perhaps the ablest it was ever my fortune to hear, was before a single Judge at Chambers, with no audience,—not even the presence of his own client. The amount involved was comparatively small; but the *question* interested his mind. He had given it a most patient and careful and thorough investigation; and for many hours he discussed it with all the vigor he could bring to bear, with a brilliancy of rhetorical power truly wonderful, and with an array of all the learning which could by any possibility aid him in the case.

“How is it possible,” some one exclaimed, “that a man of his age, after so many years of practice and in the midst of such labor, can bring so much zeal, enthusiasm, and power to bear under circumstances like these; no audience, no applause, no client; a single judge and a private room?”—“*It is blood,*” was the reply, “and nothing else. He can no more help it, than the race-horse brought upon the course can help exerting his whole powers for victory.” This is partly true, undoubtedly. There was “blood,” the complete mental organization, the nervous energy, the remarkable temperament: but there was also the long and careful training—the days and nights of toil—to this result; and the inflexible principle, worked into the soul by this systematic drill, to do every thing in the best manner at all times, and to be equal to every occasion. He had drawn in the spirit of the great masters

of the law enough to know and to feel, that, in undertaking any man's cause, his client was entitled to his best energies, his whole powers, and all the zeal he could bring to bear upon the matter in controversy.

It is not improbable that this earnest performance of duty may have been the occasion of grave misconstruction, on the part of a portion of the public, in relation to his principles of action. People outside of our tribunals of justice—and, not seldom, spectators themselves—are very apt to dictate the course which a lawyer ought to pursue, and openly express their indignation when his efforts run counter to their own prejudices and prepossessions; and their indignation knows no bounds when the final result does not accord with their own judgments.

The necessity of the legal profession to the machinery of the social fabric in a free State is undeniable; and all history shows that popular liberty is best preserved, advanced, and defended, where the legal profession is most unrestricted and free. There is, and there has been, no free profession in a despotism. When a celebrated Emperor of Russia was in England, he expressed the utmost astonishment at the consideration in which the legal profession was there held. He declared that there never was but one lawyer in his dominions, and he had caused him to be hung. And well he might; for such a man would be much in the way of the arbitrary proceedings in a despotic country. And, even in free and enlightened governments, the popular excitement against private individuals who happen to incur popular odium is a dangerous element, which requires some check in the machinery of society itself, or great wrongs will often be done. When popular excitement is at the highest point; when popular clamor is loudest, and a victim is absolutely demanded, and seems necessary for peace,—it is no small safety to every member of the community to have a class of men educated and trained for the purpose of defending those who

cannot defend themselves; to step forth as the advocate, if not the friend, of those who are hunted by popular clamor; to give their time, their talents, their learning, and their skill, in defence of those whom all others desert; to breast the fury of the people; to stem the popular current; and to insist upon a full, fair, and impartial investigation, before the victim is offered up. And when we reflect that men have often been convicted, and have suffered the extreme penalty of the law, whose innocence was afterwards made manifest to the world; that men have sometimes *confessed* themselves guilty of crimes of which they were entirely innocent, — we shall see more clearly the need of a legal profession, and shall be more cautious of condemning those who enter into their duties with zeal and energy and enthusiasm; who mean to do their whole duty, irrespective of the applause or clamor of the public while laboring under temporary excitement.

I have spoken of our deceased associate as a lawyer. We all know that he was something more than this. We all know that he was a man of cultivated taste, of a brilliant imagination, thoroughly conversant with all literature of the past and the present; and this very fact, when not perfectly understood, is calculated to give a false impression of him, and to lead the young in a wrong direction. He will undoubtedly be cited as an instance of a great lawyer who found time to indulge in literary pursuits, and others may be led to give a prominence to what he regarded as merely accessory to his grand purpose. He would have been mortified to be called a "literary lawyer;" for he well knew that "literary lawyers" are most unsafe counsellors. Because Sergeant Talfourd contributed to the Reviews, and Judge Story wrote verses, and Lord Brougham indulged in mathematics, and our friend was familiar with the learning of all ages, young men may be induced to copy this part of their history, while their *legal* acquirements are very thin indeed. Doubtless, literature may be indulged in; but it must be entirely subordinate. The

great purpose of Mr. Choate was to stand first in his profession: this was the main, the absorbing, aim of his life. All things else were merely auxiliary to this. He was a great rhetorician: but he was also a learned lawyer; and although his arguments were brilliant, and always full of sparkling gems, they were also *arguments*, and rested upon the soundest logic. Let those who would follow his example lay the foundation of excellence as he laid it. Let them carefully and patiently study the great masters of the science. Let them go to the very fountains of the law; ever mindful of the maxim, *Melior est petere fontes, quam rivulos sectari*. Let them become familiar with all the decisions of the courts; and then, if they have time, the pursuit of science and the diversions of literature will contribute to give that finish and power and clearness and discrimination which are also essential to the highest success. I cannot forbear to allude in these remarks, already too much extended, to a statement sometime made, that Mr. Choate was a "strange product of New England;" that there was something about him of Oriental magnificence. In one sense, a greater error could not exist. He was of New England, in every habit and thought and affection, and even in his personal appearance. His patriotism was as broad as the whole country. He was thoroughly American in his feelings; but his heart of hearts was here in the home of the Puritans. Never was a son of the soil more attached to the institutions, the habits, modes of thought, the localities, the hills, the rocks, of New England, than himself. *He was one of us*,—a country boy. He drove the cows to pasture. He swung the scythe. He dropped pumpkin-seeds of a Saturday afternoon in planting-time. He went to the town school, and was no stranger to the militia-musters. Oriental! Rather let us call him a glorified Yankee.

No man better understood or appreciated or respected the New-England character. He was extremely popular with the people, and without the slightest effort on his own part; and

no man understood more clearly how to appeal to the prejudices and passions, or could more effectually move the feelings, of common men. His humor was characteristic, and was irresistible. That quaint drollery, that habit of bringing together and placing in contrast the most dissimilar ideas, and exciting mirth by the extraordinary contrast,—you will find similar attempts in every schoolhouse and store and blacksmith's shop in New England this very day.

He was so full of learning, his rhetorical power was so great, his imagination so brilliant, that one who did not know him well might suppose he was not practical. "There is no maxim," says Mr. Hume, in speaking of Sir William Temple, "that blockheads in all ages have more sedulously inculcated than this, that men of genius are unfit for business." Our associate was remarkable for his common sense, for his practical sagacity, and for a thorough appreciation of the precise difficulties in any given position, and of the most expedient course to be adopted. In him there was a most remarkable combination of logical power, rhetorical skill, legal acumen, and plain sense. He was, indeed, a "strange production of New England." In any age, and in any country, he would have been a remarkable man.

Judge PARKER related interesting reminiscences of Mr. Choate's college life, illustrating his surprising facility in the acquisition of knowledge, and the ease with which he outstripped all competitors, and bore off the highest honors of his class.

The Resolutions were then passed unanimously, and the Recording Secretary was directed to transmit an attested copy of them to the family of Mr. Choate.

SEPTEMBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day (Thursday), the 8th of September, at twelve o'clock, noon, at the rooms of the Society, in Tremont Street. The meeting was called to order by JARED SPARKS, LL.D., one of the Vice-Presidents, who occupied the chair.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary announced donations from the First Congregational Church in Suffield, Conn.; the Massachusetts Antislavery Society; the State of Tennessee; Rev. S. C. Jackson, D.D.; B. P. Johnson, Esq.; Rev. E. M. Stone; Oliver Warner, Esq.; Prof. A. S. Packard; Hon. H. M. Phillips; William Cothren, Esq.; George B. Reed, Esq.; James Lenox, Esq.; and from Messrs. Aspinwall, Deane, Quint, and Robbins, of the Society.

A communication was received from a Committee of the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society, inviting the members of this Society to be present at the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the capture of Quebec; on which occasion, an address is to be delivered by the Hon. Lorenzo Sabine. Whereupon the following vote, offered by Mr. ROBBINS, was unanimously passed; viz., —

Voted, That the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society accept the invitation of the Committee of the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society to be present on the occasion of celebrating, by a public

discourse, the one hundredth anniversary of the capture of Quebec; and take pleasure in manifesting thereby, through the courtesy of a kindred Society, their interest in the great historical event which it is intended to commemorate.

Remarks were made by Mr. HEDGE and Mr. SPARKS on the effects upon this country of the capture of Quebec, which were listened to with great attention.

Hon. THEOPHILUS PARSONS and THOMAS C. AMORY, Esq., were elected Resident Members of the Society.

Mr. ROBBINS read the following note, accompanying and explaining a letter which he had been requested to communicate to the Society on behalf of Rev. Charles Lowell, D.D.: —

ELMWOOD, Sept. 7, 1859.

Rev. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D.

MY DEAR SIR, — I send you, as my contribution for tomorrow, a copy of a letter from a member of Congress to my father, who was, by marriage, his near relation and friend. It contains some interesting matter, which the Society may think it would be well to publish in their Collections, if it has not been already printed, as I suppose is the case. It is marked as private and confidential. The office alluded to is the judgeship of the Court of Appeals, to which my father had been appointed, and his acceptance of which had not been received. . . .

Truly and affectionately your friend,

CHA. LOWELL.

The following is a copy of the letter referred to: —

PHILADELPHIA, 14th March, 1783.

DR. LOWELL, — For mercy's sake, where are your letters to Congress relative to your appointment? They grow

uneasy at receiving no answer. I have told them that you would accept conditionally, and that you had wrote answers, which were to follow me by post. There will be no difficulty as to the conditions. They wish you to serve, and would accommodate as much as possible. But where are your letters? I am afraid they have miscarried. A certain gentleman in Boston wrote to a member, that he believed you would not accept; and recommended Mr. P.* as having stronger claims than any other person, and every necessary qualification.

We have been, for days, reading the papers received from our ministers. They have given us journals of all the negotiations, and stated every interview with Oswald, Fitzherbert, Grenville, Vergennes, Aranda, and Mynherr. Mr. Jay appears to great advantage. He entered into the reasons of all their movements; had firmness to oppose them, and address enough to counteract and outmanœuvre them. The French and Spaniards acted in concert. Spain supported France in their attempts to divide the fishery with Britain; to fasten the Tories upon us by an article to compensate and restore their property; to carry the British line as far back as Kennebec and as far south as to take in a great part of our back settlements: and France insisted upon our giving to Spain such bounds as would secure to them all the Illinois country, a great part of Georgia, a prodigious tract of fine country to the westward; and would have excluded us from all the inland water-carriage and the Mississippi. The instructions "to advise," &c., greatly supported these claims, and embarrassed our ministers; but it seems that they gained all their important points, in spite of the arts and intrigues of France, the sullen chicanery of Spain, and the weakness, timidity, or —, of C. They wisely departed from their instructions, and did not acquaint Vergennes with their doings till

* The name is given in full in the original.

after the treaty was signed. Oswald appears to have acted with candor, and understood the true interest of his country. Vergennes went so far as to send a special message to England, when he found that Oswald had agreed to our propositions, in order to prepossess the minister against such terms; but Oswald sent over Mr. Vaughan after him, who prevented any impression being made against us, and convinced that it was their interest to accede to the treaty. Thus you see the danger you were in, and the game that has been played. Had our ministers adhered closely to their instructions, and consulted France on every point, we should have been ruined; but they wisely and with independence pursued the interest of their country. They did not even show the treaty to Vergennes till it was perfectly signed. But, it seems, peace is not yet certain; and our treaty is not binding till the preliminaries between France and England are settled. France will probably delay an adjustment, and use every means to draw off Britain from the treaty with us, being exceedingly averse to the terms granted to us; but Britain, conceiving it to be her interest to keep to that treaty, and persuaded as she is that we are both the intended dupes of France, will not, I believe, easily be induced to wish any great alteration to be made. It is a great point to get a formal concession to us of such terms: indeed, I see not how they can be departed from. I consider the war in America as at an end: every thing confirms me in the opinion. These things, however, are not for the public eye: a few only, of prudence and judgment, should be acquainted with them. There are who seem thoroughly disappointed in all this. Their countenances have fallen, and resentment at such independent conduct is seated on their brow. Hence I expect a disposition in some to give Adams liberty to come home, who has solicited it; but I trust there will be too much firmness, and attention in Congress to the public interest, to grant it till the whole business is finished. His absence would proba-

bly endanger every thing. Jay would then be uncertain as to support, and perhaps may be overruled. I expect soon a budget from Monsieur on the business, exhibiting high charges against A. and J. This will discover the temper of Congress, and show us who and who are of a side.

What shall we do for money? How shall we acquire more strength and energy? What settlement shall we make with the army? These are difficult and important questions. They must be resolved; but who can show us the path of duty and of safety? We have been in pursuit of it ever since I have been here. Many have attempted the discovery, and have failed. I acknowledge, I am as yet unsettled as to them all. So many and such alarming difficulties present themselves on every side, that it is hard to say which road promises the greatest safety. However, we must decide: we cannot tarry. Come, then, thou genius of America, and be our guide!

I can't remember where you said your journals were. However, if I have good opportunity before I hear from you, I will send you my set, and take yours.

The estates of fugitives had better remain as they are. The enclosed articles will suggest reasons.

Do not let these things circulate too far; nor should it, on my account, be known to many whence you get these things: it might, while here, do me an injury. I desired Parsons to show you a letter I wrote him. Caution him, also, against too free a communication of its contents.

I wish you would call on Mrs. Gray once in a while, and advise her about her affairs. Her situation is truly pitiable. I do not yet feel enough at home to take a part in debates, without a hurry of spirits. I have attempted it two or three times, but felt agitated.

Pray, give my love to all.

Yours affectionately.

Mr. WEBB called the attention of the Society to the fact, that the publication of Niles's manuscript, "History of the Indian and French Wars," which had been commenced in volume six of the Society's Collections, had never been completed. In a note at the close of the portion already printed, the Publishing Committee for the year 1837 gave the reader reason to expect that the remainder would appear in a future volume. Mr. Webb asked for some explanation of the omission, and hoped that it might be the pleasure of the Society to take some action, with the view of securing the publication of the whole of a history so curious and valuable.

After discussion, it was *Voted*, That the subject introduced by Mr. Webb be referred to the Standing Committee.

OCTOBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, the 13th of October, at twelve o'clock, noon, at the rooms of the Society, Tremont Street, Boston; Hon. DAVID SEARS, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary announced donations from the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association; Trustees of the Asylum for the Insane, N.H.; Trustees of the New-York-State Library; Chicago Historical Society; American Philosophical Society; Harvard College; Usher

Parsons, M.D.; E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D.; Rev. Edwin M. Stone; E. A. Davis, Esq.; Isaac Otis, jun.; S. C. Newman, Esq.; and from Messrs. Curtis, Deane, Newell, Quint, Robbins, Shurtleff, and Webb, of the Society.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary read a letter from Hon. Theophilus Parsons, accepting election as a Resident Member of the Society; also a communication from Dr. Charles Lowell, accompanying a donation of manuscript papers.

The same officer also read an extract from a brief note addressed to him by the Corresponding Secretary, requesting him to present to the Society an engraved miniature likeness of John Phillips, the first Mayor of Boston, which had been put into the hands of the Corresponding Secretary by the late Thomas W. Phillips, a few weeks before the decease of the latter.

Several bound copies of the first volume of the new Catalogue of the Society's library were placed on the officers' table for inspection by the members.

The Standing Committee reported a recommendation, that the portion of Niles's "History of the Indian and French Wars," which had not been published in the Society's Collections, be printed at the earliest opportunity.

Mr. ROBBINS communicated a note from Rev. Charles Lowell, D.D., requesting him to lay before the meeting, and to present, in his name, to the Society, the subjoined copy of a letter from Ralph Izard, the eminent senator from South Carolina, who enjoyed the confidence of all

parties in the Senate. It was addressed to Hon. J. Lowell, the father of the donor; and was dated Philadelphia, 23d of October, 1782.

PHILADELPHIA, 23d October, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I received by Mr. Tracy the letter you were so good as to write me, and am obliged to you for the trouble you have taken about the publication. The matter seems to have subsided; and therefore it will be unnecessary to trouble either you or myself any more about it. I am not, however, insensible of the unjustifiable liberty taken by the gentleman you mention. He seems, by his indiscretion, to have brought himself into trouble; and certainly the best thing he can do, both for his own sake and that of his friends, will be to withdraw himself, as soon as possible, from the attention of the public. The last European letters we have are from Amsterdam, of 23d August.

Mr. Grenville had returned to London; and Mr. Fitzherbert, the British minister at Brussels, had taken his place as plenipotentiary at Paris. This, I believe, is to feel the pulse of the cabinet at Versailles. I do not think that the King of England is yet seriously disposed to make peace on those terms which alone can be accepted by this country. The combined fleet are said to be gone to Cadiz. Lord Howe will probably attempt the relief of Gibraltar. His numbers are inferior to those of the allies; but the latter consist chiefly of Spaniards, and therefore I feel a want of confidence in them. Besides, they are commanded by Don Louis Cordova, a Spanish admiral, who is not, in general, esteemed quite as good an officer as his opponent. We flatter ourselves, that, in the course of a fortnight, we shall receive accounts of the evacuation of Charlestown, as we have intelligence from New York that a considerable number of transports are gone thither for the purpose of bringing off the garrison. It is high time that our unhappy country should

be relieved from her distresses. Your State, at present, is very respectably represented: but I am very sorry to find that Mr. Jackson purposes to set out soon for Boston; and the more so, as I cannot learn that there are any hopes of our seeing you here this winter. It certainly is of considerable importance that your State should be kept properly and constantly represented; and I wish it were convenient for Mr. Jackson to stay until the arrival of his successor. Pray, present my best regards and compliments to Mr. Adams; and I beg you will be assured that I am, with very great regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

R. IZARD.

Hon. J. LOWELL, Esq.

Mr. R. FROTHINGHAM, jun., presented the following copy of a letter from William Ellery, dated 27th March, 1775, — referred to in the volume of Proceedings for the years 1855–8, on page 282, — which he was unable to find when the record of the meeting, at which it was read, was prepared for the press.

NEWPORT, March 27, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — I received your letter; but it was a day too late to answer your purpose. However, the letters and newspapers have been, and I believe will be, serviceable to the good cause. The great man came to the last meeting with a spirit much more humble than that which inflamed him when he bullied us all. In short, he was condescending, and so were we; and we settled the matter with mutually promising that we would not drink tea, nor suffer it to be used in our families. He was very much afraid that he should be posted, and his father thereby turned out.

You did not write a word about —, neither have I received any answer to my letter. As you have a good

opportunity (the court sitting), I hope you will find out fully the sense of the county. What sort of a figure would our chairman make at the head of a prox? Put that question to such persons as you think proper; and find out what persons it will be proper, in the several towns in Providence County, to send proxies to. I know you have a good deal of business to engage your attention; but some of your time you may give to your country. You must exert yourself. To be ruled by Tories, when we may be ruled by sons of Liberty, — how debasing! Connecticut turned out Governor Fitch — one of her first politicians, and who had done her the greatest services — because he favored the Stamp Act. In the Massachusetts, there are not more than two Tory representatives. You must rouse up all that is Roman in Providence. There is liberty and fire enough: it only requires the application of the bellows. Blow, then, a blast that will shake the county. Talk of peace! — there shall be no peace, saith my soul, to the wicked. Talk of union! — do the Tories want to see us united? I had rather see the ship in a hurricane, and hazard an escape, than to have her any longer piloted by an enemy to liberty. Throw something into the press to convince the people, where you are, of the danger we are in from a Tory administration, and don't be afraid of seasoning it highly. People who have weak appetites must be warmed. "*Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates; sed magis amica Patria, magis amica Libertas.*" Samuel Bours made a confession; but it was not particular enough. We expect something to-morrow evening more satisfactory. The conduct of the Committee, though not so firm and severe as I could have wished, hath had a good effect. It gave a home-blow to the baneful herb. It was said that John Jencks of Providence drinks tea. There is no doubt that Mr. Hopkins drank it when he was at Newport. You remember what was said in the Committee. Since that, George Gibbs said, before me and several others, that James Clark (naval officer) told him that Mr. Hopkins drank tea at

the Governor's, when he was last at Newport. Such examples are pernicious. If a delegate of the Congress, who associated, under the ties of honor, virtue, and love of his country, not to use that poisonous plant after the 1st of March, doth drink it, what will not others do? This imprudent conduct, to say no worse of it, gives me great concern. Let others do as they may: let us, my good friend, preserve a consistency of character; let us act uniformly, and for our country. If we fail, we shall have the approbation of our consciences; if we succeed, we shall have the approbation of our country. 'Tis not in mortals to command success: but we can do more; we can deserve it.

I am yours affectionately,

WILLIAM ELLERY.

Make the best apology to Tom Green you can for my not writing him. You have seen a court.

Mr. WASHBURN communicated a personal narrative of the experience and sufferings of Solomon Parsons, a soldier in the battle of Monmouth.

Mr. WEBB communicated a paper relating to the time and place of the introduction of gas into the United States.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day (Thursday), the 10th of November, at the rooms of the Society, in Tremont Street, at twelve o'clock, noon; the Hon. DAVID SEARS, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secre-

tary announced donations from the Trustees of the N.H. Asylum for the Insane; the Trustees of the New-York State Library; the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery, London, Eng.; the American Philosophical Society; the Chicago Historical Society; the Tennessee Historical Society; the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society; Harvard College; Henry Clark, Esq.; F. D. Huntington, D.D.; James Lenox, Esq.; Usher Parsons, M.D.; William F. Poole, Esq.; B. P. Robinson, Esq.; William B. Shedd, Esq.; and from Messrs. Appleton, Longfellow, Motley, Palmer, Parker, Robbins, Sears, Sibley, Sparks, and Washburn, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from Frederic W. Thayer, Esq., in relation to a lecture about to be delivered, by Rembrandt Peale, on Washington and his Portraits. *Voted* to refer the subject to the Standing Committee.

GEORGE SUMNER, Esq., and Rev. CHARLES MASON, D.D., were elected Resident Members of the Society.

Mr. WASHBURN presented, on behalf of Dr. Charles Lowell, a collection of manuscript letters and papers. Whereupon it was *Voted*, That the Corresponding Secretary be directed to communicate to Dr. Lowell the thanks of the Society for the several valuable donations of pamphlets and manuscripts recently made by him to its archives.

Mr. AMES presented a printed circular, addressed to the "Gentlemen Selectmen of Stoughtonham" by the selectmen of Boston, dated Sept. 14, 1768; inviting them, together with the selectmen of the several towns

in the Province, to join in a convention at Boston to concert such measures as his Majesty's service and the peace and safety of his subjects in the Province might require, in view of the grievances under which the people labor.

The circular is as follows; viz.: —

BOSTON, Sept. 14, 1768.

GENTLEMEN, — You are already too well acquainted with the melancholy and very alarming circumstances to which this Province, as well as America in general, is now reduced. Taxes, equally detrimental to the commercial interests of the parent country and her Colonies, are imposed upon the people, without their consent, — taxes designed for the civil government in the Colonies, in a manner clearly unconstitutional, and contrary to that in which, till of late, government has been supported by the free gift of the people in the American Assemblies or Parliaments; as also for the maintenance of a large standing army, not for the defence of the newly acquired territories, but for the old Colonies, and in a time of peace. The decent, humble, and truly loyal applications and petitions from the representatives of this Province, for the redress of these heavy and very threatening grievances, have hitherto been ineffectual; being assured from authentic intelligence that they have not yet reached the royal ear. The only effect of transmitting these applications, hitherto perceivable, has been a mandate, from one of his majesty's Secretaries of State to the Governor of this Province, to dissolve the General Assembly, merely because the late House of Representatives refused to rescind a resolution of a former House; which implied nothing more than a right in the American subjects to unite in humble and dutiful petitions to their gracious sovereign, when they found themselves aggrieved. This is a right naturally inherent

in every man, and expressly recognized at the glorious Revolution as the birthright of an Englishman.

This dissolution, you are sensible, has taken place. The Governor has publicly and repeatedly declared that he cannot call another Assembly: and the Secretary of State for the American Department, in one of his letters communicated to the late House, has been pleased to say, that "proper care will be taken for the support of the dignity of government;" the meaning of which is too plain to be misunderstood.

The concern and perplexity into which these things have thrown the people have been greatly aggravated by a late declaration of his Excellency Governor Bernard, that one or more regiments may soon be expected in this Province.

The design of these troops is, in every one's apprehension, nothing short of enforcing by military power the execution of Acts of Parliament; in the forming of which, the Colonies have not, and cannot have, any constitutional influence. This is one of the greatest distresses to which a free people can be reduced.

The town which we have the honor to serve have taken these things, at their late meeting, into their most serious consideration; and, as there is in the minds of many a prevailing apprehension of an approaching war with France, they have passed the several votes which we transmit to you, desiring that they may be immediately laid before the town, whose prudentials are in your care, at a legal meeting, for their candid and particular attention.

Deprived of the councils of a General Assembly in this dark and difficult season, the loyal people of this Province will, we are persuaded, immediately perceive the propriety and utility of the proposed Committee of Convention: and the sound and wholesome advice that may be expected from a number of gentlemen chosen by themselves, and in whom they may repose the greatest confidence, must tend to the real service of our gracious sovereign, and the welfare of his

subjects in this Province; and may happily prevent any sudden and unconnected measures, which, in their present anxiety, and even agony of mind, they may be in danger of falling into.

As it is of importance that the Convention should meet as soon as may be, so early a day as the 22d of this inst. September has been proposed for that purpose; and it is hoped the remotest towns will by that time, or as soon as conveniently may be, return their respective Committees.

Not doubting but that you are equally concerned with us and our fellow-citizens for the preservation of our invaluable rights and for the general happiness of our country, and that you are disposed with equal ardor to exert yourselves in every constitutional way for so glorious a purpose,

We are, gentlemen, with the greatest esteem, your obedient, humble servants,

JOSEPH JACKSON,	}	<i>Selectmen of Boston.</i>
JOHN RUDDOCK,		
JOHN HANCOCK,		
JOHN ROWE,		
SAM. PEMBERTON,		

N.B.—The other two selectmen are out of the Province.
To the Gentlemen Selectmen of Stoughtonham.

In explanation of the circumstances under which the circular was prepared, Mr. Ames remarked, in substance, as follows:—

On June 30, 1768, Governor Bernard prorogued the General Court, or Assembly of the Province, to Aug. 3 then next; and by his proclamation, issued July 1, 1768, he dissolved the General Court; and there was no session of the General Court from June 30, 1768, until the last Wednesday of May, 1769.

Great complaint was made throughout the Province because they were “deprived of the councils of a General

Assembly in this dark and difficult season ;” and on Sept. 12, 1768, the inhabitants of Boston, in town-meeting, “ *Resolved*, That as the people labor under many grievances, and as the Governor had declared himself unable, at the request of the town, to call a General Court (which is the Assembly of the States of the Province for the redress of such grievances), the town will make choice of a suitable number of persons to act for them as a Committee in Convention, with such as may be sent to join them from the several towns in the Province, in order that such measures might be concerted and advised as his majesty’s service, and the peace and safety of his subjects in the Province, might require.”

“The representatives of Boston in the last General Court — Samuel Adams, John Hancock, James Otis, and Thomas Cushing — were chosen the committee or delegates for the Convention; and the selectmen, by the vote at the town-meeting, were required to send a circular letter to the selectmen of the several towns in the Province, inviting them to join, and proposing the twenty-second day of September, 1768, for the day of the meeting of the Convention at Boston.” This Convention met at Faneuil Hall, Sept. 22, 1768; and continued in session until the 29th, when they broke up.

Governor Hutchinson, in volume three of his History, page 205, says, “It must be allowed by all, that the proceedings of this meeting had a greater tendency towards a revolution in government than any preceding measures in any of the Colonies. The inhabitants of one town alone took upon them to convene an assembly from all the towns, that, in every thing but in name, would be a House of Representatives; which, by the charter, the Governor had the sole authority of convening.”

On page 206, the same writer remarks, “It was a bold attempt. A great part of the people of the Province received the account of it with concern, lest it should bring on the resentment of the kingdom, and the Province should

be considered as in a state of rebellion. That it was a high offence, was generally agreed. Some would make the act of the selectmen of Boston to be treason; and pains were taken to obtain and preserve some of the original letters signed by them. It was agreed, that the proceedings of the Convention might aggravate the legal guilt of the promoters of it. About ninety towns, however, chose their committees. In many of them, those persons who had been representatives were willing to be excused on this occasion."

It will be observed that this circular letter was addressed, on the outside, "To the Gentlemen Selectmen of" (in print) "Stoughtonham" (in writing); and on the inside, in the same words, all in writing.

Stoughtonham was not then a town entitled to send a representative to the General Court, but a district taken from the territory of the town of Stoughton, and incorporated by an Act of the General Court, passed June 20, 1765. Stoughtonham then consisted of the territory, now the towns, of Sharon and Foxborough; and had all the powers, privileges, and immunities of towns, "excepting only the privilege of sending a representative to the General Assembly;" but having liberty from time to time to join with the town of Stoughton in the choice of a representative, who might be chosen indifferently from said town or district.

This leads to the inquiry, how the several districts created in the Province from the beginning of the year 1754 to June, 1774, became towns. It is commonly supposed that districts were first made towns by the ninth section of the Act passed March 23, 1786, entitled "An Act for regulating Towns and setting forth their Power, and for the Choice of Town-officers," &c. But this is a mistake; for the first General Court of the Revolution, which met at Watertown, July 19, 1775, by the third section of an Act entitled "An Act declaratory of the Right of certain Towns and Districts in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, to elect and depute

a Representative," &c., — which passed the House to be engrossed, and was sent up to the Council, Aug. 17, 1775; and which became a law on or before Aug. 24, 1775, — enacted and declared, that every district "*shall henceforth be, and shall be, holden, taken, and intended to be, a town to all intents and purposes whatsoever.*"

Accordingly, it will be seen, on opening the records of all such towns as were districts before, that after that time, and at the next meeting of the General Court in May, 1777, they, for the first time, sent their representatives to the General Court as towns; having duly elected them, independently of the towns to which they had been before attached for choosing a representative. The address (in writing) inside, so far as relates to the name of the town, and the address outside, of this circular letter, are in a handwriting different from that of either of the selectmen subscribers; and were probably written by a clerk, to whom the selectmen handed over the same for direction. The name of Stoughtonham was changed to Sharon by an Act passed Feb. 25, 1783.

It will be noted that the first Provincial Congress, on the day of dissolving, — Dec. 9, 1774, — recommended to the several towns and *districts* to elect members to represent them at the next Provincial Congress, to be held Feb. 1, 1775; which they, both towns and districts, did.

Mr. ROBBINS, at the request of Dr. Blagden, who was absent, presented to the Society the correspondence of the Hon. Peter Parker and the Hon. Robert McLane, commissioners in China, with the Department of State of the United States, from the 26th of October, 1853, to the 7th of August, 1857, — a donation from Hon. Peter Parker, through the hands of Dr. Blagden. Whereupon it was *Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Hon. Peter Parker for his acceptable gift.

Mr. SALTONSTALL presented to the Society, on behalf of Samuel T. Snow, Esq., of Boston, a copperplate engraving of the Declaration of Independence, by an unknown artist; together with the copperplate itself. Mr. Saltonstall stated that these plates were left by a party of play-actors, many years ago, with an inn-keeper, in payment of their board; who, after keeping them for twenty years, brought them to Boston. *Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Samuel T. Snow, Esq., for his valuable donation.

DECEMBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day (Thursday), the 8th day of December, at twelve o'clock, noon, at the rooms of the Society, Tremont Street, Boston; Hon. DAVID SEARS, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary announced donations from the Indiana Historical Society; New-England Female Medical College; Brown University; the Trustees of the Public Library of Boston; Henry C. Van Schaack, Esq.; J. Smith Homans, Esq.; Rev. E. M. Stone; Hon. Peter Parker; Rev. W. B. Sprague, D.D.; Rev. George Mooar; Rev. Caleb D. Bradlee; Thomas Lee, Esq.; Samuel A. Green, M.D.; F. L. O. Roehrig, Esq.; Hon. Thomas B. Florence; B. P. Johnson, Esq.; R. A. Guild, Esq.; and from Messrs.

Felt, Quincy, Robbins, Sabine, Sears, and Whitney, of the Society.

Mr. AMES communicated the following transcript from the records of the district of "Stoughtonham," in addition to the paper read by him at the last meeting:—

"At a district meeting legally assembled and held in the district of Stoughtonham, on the twenty-first day of September, A.D. 1768, Mr. Edmund Quincy was chosen moderator, and sworn.

"The same day, sundry votes lately passed by the town of Boston, together with a letter from the selectmen of the said town, were read, proposing a General Convention, to be held at Faneuil Hall, in Boston, on the twenty-second day of September, A.D. 1768. Mr. Job Swift was chosen to appear at the above-said Convention.

"Attest,

"DANIEL RICHARDS,
"District Clerk."

Mr. LIVERMORE read interesting extracts from a letter recently received from the President of the Society, Hon. R. C. Winthrop, now in Vienna.

Mr. SEARS invited the Society to hold an evening meeting at his house, on Beacon Street, on Thursday next.

On motion of Mr. WASHBURN, the invitation of Mr. Sears was accepted.

An animated conversation, on subjects connected with the communication of Mr. Ames, engaged the attention of the meeting.

SPECIAL MEETING.

A special meeting of the Society was held this evening, (Thursday), the 15th of December, at the residence of the Hon. David Sears, in Beacon Street.

Mr. SEARS, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, on taking the chair at eight o'clock, announced, in appropriate terms, that the purpose of the meeting was to take some action relative to the death of Washington Irving, an Honorary Member of the Society.

Mr. LONGFELLOW, in offering a series of commemorative resolutions, prefaced them with the following remarks:—

REMARKS OF MR. LONGFELLOW.

Every reader has his first book: I mean to say, one book, among all others, which, in early youth, first fascinates his imagination, and at once excites and satisfies the desires of his mind. To me, this first book was the "Sketch-Book" of Washington Irving. I was a schoolboy when it was published, and read each succeeding number with ever-increasing wonder and delight,—spell-bound by its pleasant humor, its melancholy tenderness, its atmosphere of revery; nay, even by its gray-brown covers, the shaded letters of the titles, and the fair, clear type,—which seemed an outward symbol of the style.

How many delightful books the same author has given us, written before and since,—volumes of history and of fiction, most of which illustrate his native land, and some of which illuminate it, and make the Hudson, I will not say as classic, but as romantic, as the Rhine! Yet still the charm of the

"Sketch-Book" remains unbroken; the old fascination still lingers about it; and, whenever I open its pages, I open also that mysterious door which leads back into the haunted chambers of youth.

Many years afterward, I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Irving in Spain; and found the author, whom I had loved, repeated in the man,—the same playful humor, the same touches of sentiment, the same poetic atmosphere, and, what I admired still more, the entire absence of all literary jealousy, of all that mean avarice of fame, which counts what is given to another as so much taken from one's self,—

"And, rustling, hears in every breeze
The laurels of Miltiades."

At this time, Mr. Irving was at Madrid, engaged upon his "Life of Columbus;" and, if the work itself did not bear ample testimony to his zealous and conscientious labor, I could do so from personal observation. He seemed to be always at work. "Sit down," he would say: "I will talk with you in a moment; but I must first finish this sentence."

One summer morning, passing his house at the early hour of six, I saw his study-window already wide open. On my mentioning it to him afterwards, he said, "Yes: I am always at my work as early as six." Since then, I have often remembered that sunny morning and that open window, so suggestive of his sunny temperament and his open heart, and equally so of his patient and persistent toil; and have recalled those striking words of Dante:—

"Seggendo in piuma,
In fama non si vien, nè sotto coltre;
Senza la qual, chi sua vita consuma,
Cotal vestigio in terra, di sè lascia
Qual fummo in aere ed in acqua la schiuma."

"Seated upon down,
Or in his bed, man cometh not to fame;
Withouten which, whoso his life consumes,
Such vestige of himself on earth shall leave
As smoke in air and in the water foam."

Remembering these things, I esteem it a great though a melancholy privilege to lay upon his hearse the passing tribute of these resolutions:—

Resolved, That while we deeply deplore the death of our friend and associate, Washington Irving, we rejoice in the completeness of his life and labors, which, closing together, have left behind them so sweet a fame, and a memory so precious.

Resolved, That we feel a just pride in his renown as an author; not forgetting, that, to his other claims upon our gratitude, he adds also that of having been the first to win for our country an honorable name and position in the history of letters.

Resolved, That we hold in affectionate remembrance the noble example of his long literary career; extending through half a century of unremitted labors, graced with all the amenities of authorship, and marred by none of its discords and contentions.

Resolved, That, as members of this Historical Society, we regard with especial honor and admiration his Lives of Columbus, the Discoverer, and of Washington, the Father, of our country.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to his family, with the expression of our deepest and sincerest sympathy.

The resolutions were seconded by Mr. EVERETT, and supported by Messrs. ASPINWALL, FELTON, and HOLMES.

REMARKS OF MR. EVERETT.

I cordially concur in the resolutions which Mr. Longfellow has submitted to the Society. They do no more than justice to the merits and character of Mr. Irving as a man and as a writer; and it is to me, sir, a very pleasing circumstance, that a tribute like this to the Nestor of the prose writers of America — so just and so happily expressed — should be paid by the most distinguished of our American poets.

If the year 1769 is memorable above every other of the last century for the number of eminent men to which it gave birth, the year 1859 is thus far signalized in this

century for the number of bright names which it has taken from us; and surely that of Washington Irving may be accounted with the brightest on the list.

It is eminently proper that we should take a respectful notice of his decease. He has stood for many years on the roll of our Honorary Members; and he has enriched the literature of the country with two first-class historical works, which, although from their subjects they possess a peculiar attraction for the people of the United States, are yet, in general interest, second to no contemporary works in that department of literature. I allude, of course, to the "History of the Life and Voyages of Columbus," and the "Life of Washington."

Although Mr. Irving's devotion to literature as a profession — and a profession pursued with almost unequalled success — was caused by untoward events, which, in ordinary cases, would have proved the ruin of a life, a rare good fortune attended his literary career. Without having received a collegiate education, and destined first to the legal profession, which he abandoned as uncongenial, he had, in very early life, given promise of attaining a brilliant reputation as a writer. Some essays from his pen attracted notice before he had reached his majority. A few years later, the numbers of the "Salmagundi," to which he was a principal contributor, enjoyed a success, throughout the United States, far beyond any former similar work, and not surpassed, if equalled, by any thing which has since appeared.

This was followed by "Knickerbocker's History of New York," which at once placed Mr. Irving at the head of American humorists. In the class of compositions to which it belongs, I know of nothing happier than this work in our language. It has probably been read as widely, and with as keen a relish, as any thing from Mr. Irving's pen. It would seem cynical to subject a work of this kind to an austere commentary, — at least, while we are paying a tribute to the

memory of its lamented author; but I may be permitted to observe, that, while this kind of humorous writing fits well with the joyous temperament of youth, in the first flush of successful authorship, and is managed by Mr. Irving with great delicacy and skill, it is still, in my opinion, better adapted for a *jeu d'esprit* in a magazine than for a work of considerable compass. To travesty an entire history seems to me a mistaken effort of ingenuity, and not well applied to the countrymen of William of Orange, Grotius, the De Witts, and Van Tromp.

This work first made Mr. Irving known in Europe. His friend Mr. Henry Brevoort, one of the associate wits of the "Salmagundi," had sent a copy of it to Sir Walter Scott,—himself chiefly known, at that time, as the most popular of the English poets of the day; though, as such, beginning to be outshone by the fresher brightness of Byron's inspiration. Scott, though necessarily ignorant of the piquant allusions to topics of contemporary interest, and wholly destitute of sympathy with the spirit of the work, entered fully into its humor as a literary effort, and spoke of it with discrimination and warmth. His letter to Mr. Henry Brevoort is now in the possession of his son, our esteemed corresponding associate, Mr. J. Carson Brevoort; to whose liberality we are indebted for the curious panoramic drawing of the military works in the environs of Boston, executed by a British officer in 1775, which I have had the pleasure, on behalf of Mr. Brevoort, of tendering to the Society this evening. Mr. Carson Brevoort has caused a lithographic *fac-simile* of Sir Walter Scott's letter to be executed; and of this interesting relic he also offers a copy to the acceptance of the Society. The letter has been inserted in the very instructive article on Mr. Irving in Allibone's invaluable "Dictionary of English and American Authors;" but as it is short, and may not be generally known to the Society, I will read it from the *fac-simile*:—

MY DEAR SIR, — I beg you to accept my best thanks for the uncommon degree of entertainment which I have received from the most excellent jocose history of New York. I am sensible, that, as a stranger to American parties and politics, I must lose much of the concealed satire of the piece; but I must own, that, looking at the simple and obvious meaning only, I have never read any thing so closely resembling the style of Dean Swift as the annals of Diedrich Knickerbocker. I have been employed these few evenings in reading them aloud to Mrs. S., and two ladies who are our guests; and our sides have been absolutely sore with laughing. I think, too, there are passages which indicate that the author possesses powers of a different kind, and has some touches which remind me much of Sterne. I beg you will have the kindness to let me know when Mr. Irving takes pen in hand again; for, assuredly, I shall expect a very great treat, which I may chance never to hear of but through your kindness.

Believe me, dear sir, your obliged, humble servant,

WALTER SCOTT.

ABBOTSFORD, 23d April, 1813.

After Mr. Irving had been led to take up his residence abroad, and to adopt literature as a profession and a livelihood, — a resource to which he was driven by the failure of the commercial house of his relatives, of which he was nominally a partner, — he produced, in rapid succession, a series of works which stood the test of English criticism, and attained a popularity not surpassed — hardly equalled — by that of any of his European contemporaries. This fact, besides being attested by the critical journals of the day, may be safely inferred from the munificent prices paid by the great London bookseller, the elder Murray, for the copyright of several of his productions. He wrote, among other subjects, of English manners, sports, and traditions, — national traits of character, — certainly the most difficult topics for a foreigner to treat: and he wrote at a time when Scott was almost annually sending forth one of his marvellous novels; when the poetical reputation of Moore, Byron, Campbell, and

Rogers, was at the zenith; and the public appetite was consequently fed almost to satiety by these familiar domestic favorites. But, notwithstanding these disadvantages and obstacles to success, he rose at once to a popularity of the most brilliant and enviable kind; and this, too, in a branch of literature which had not been cultivated with distinguished success in England since the time of Goldsmith, and, with the exception of Goldsmith, not since the days of Addison and Steele.

Mr. Irving's manner is often compared with Addison's; though, closely examined, there is no great resemblance between them, except that they both write in a simple, unaffected style, remote from the tiresome stateliness of Johnson and Gibbon. It was one of the witty but rather ill-natured sayings of Mr. Samuel Rogers, whose epigrams sometimes did as much injustice to his own kind and generous nature as they did to the victims of his pleasantry, that Washington Irving was Addison and Water, — a judgment which, if seriously dealt with, is altogether aside from the merits of the two writers, who have very little in common. Addison had received a finished classical education at the Charter-House and at Oxford; was eminently a man of books, and had a decided taste for literary criticism. Mr. Irving, for a man of letters, was not a great reader; and, if he possessed the critical faculty, never exercised it. Addison quoted the Latin poets freely, and wrote correct Latin verses himself. Mr. Irving made no pretensions to a familiar acquaintance with the classics, and probably never made a hexameter in his life. Addison wrote some smooth English poetry, which Mr. Irving, I believe, never attempted; but, with the exception of two or three exquisite hymns (which will last as long as the English language does), one brilliant simile of six lines in the "Campaign," and one or two sententious but not very brilliant passages from Cato, not a line of Addison's poetry has been quoted for a hundred years.

But Mr. Irving's peculiar vein of humor is not inferior in playful raciness to Addison's; his nicety of characterization is quite equal; his judgment upon all moral relations as sound and true; his human sympathies more comprehensive, tenderer and chaster; and his poetical faculty, though never developed in verse, vastly above Addison's. One chord in the human heart, — the pathetic, — for whose sweet music Addison had no ear, Irving touched with the hand of a master. He learned that skill in the school of early disappointment.

In this respect, the writer was, in both cases, reflected in the man. Addison, after a protracted suit, made an "ambitious match" with a termagant peeress. Irving, who would as soon have married Hecate as a woman like the Countess of Warwick, buried a blighted hope, never to be rekindled, in the grave of a youthful sorrow.

As miscellaneous essayists, in which capacity only they can be compared, Irving exceeds Addison in versatility and range, quite as much as Addison exceeds Irving in the far less important quality of classical tincture; while, as a great national historian, our countryman reaped laurels in a field which Addison never entered.

Mr. Irving's first great historical work, the "Life and Voyages of Columbus," appeared at London and New York in 1828. Being at Bordeaux in the winter of 1825-6, he received a letter from Mr. Alexander H. Everett, then Minister of the United States in Spain, informing him that a work was passing through the press, containing a collection of documents relative to the voyages of Columbus; among which were many, of a highly important nature, recently discovered in the public archives. This was the now well-known work of Navarrete, the Secretary of the Royal Spanish Academy of History. Mr. Everett, in making this communication to Mr. Irving, suggested that the translation of Navarrete's volumes into English, by some American scholar, would

be very desirable. Mr. Irving concurred in this opinion, and, having previously intended to visit Madrid, shortly afterwards repaired to that capital, with a view to undertake the proposed translation.

Navarrete's collection was published soon after Mr. Irving's arrival at Madrid; and finding it rich in original documents hitherto unknown, which threw additional light on the discovery of America, he conceived the happy idea (instead of a simple translation) of preparing from them, and other materials, liberally placed at his disposal, in the public and private libraries of Spain, — and especially that of Mr. Obadiah Rich, our Consul at Valencia, with whom Mr. Irving was domesticated at Madrid, and who possessed a collection of manuscripts and books of extreme value, — a new history of the greatest event of modern times, drawn up in the form of a *Life of Columbus*. He addressed himself with zeal and assiduity to the execution of this happy conception; and, in about two years, the work, in four octavo volumes, was ready for the press. When it is considered that much of the material was to be drawn from ancient manuscripts and black-letter chronicles in a foreign tongue, it is a noble monument of the industry as well as the literary talent of its author.

That these newly discovered materials for a *Life of Columbus*, and a history of the great discovery, should have fallen directly into the hands of an American writer so well qualified to make a good use of them as Mr. Irving, and that the credit of producing the first adequate memorial of this all-important event should have been thus secured to the United States by their most popular author, is certainly a very pleasing co-incidence.

The limits of this occasion require me to pass over two or three popular works of a light cast, for which Mr. Irving collected the materials while carrying on his historical researches in Spain, as also those which issued from his industrious and fertile pen after his return to the United States in

1832. At this period of his life, he began seriously to contemplate the preparation of his last great production, — the “Life of Washington.” This subject had been pressed upon him, while he was yet in Europe, by Mr. Archibald Constable, the celebrated publisher at Edinburgh; and Mr. Irving determined to undertake it as soon as his return to America should bring him within reach of the necessary documents. Various circumstances concurred to prevent the execution of the project at this time; especially his appointment as Minister to Spain, and his residence in that country from 1842 to 1846. On his return to America, at the close of his mission, he appears to have applied himself diligently to the long-meditated undertaking; though he proceeded but slowly, at first, in its execution. The first volume appeared in 1855, and the four following in rapid succession. The work was finally completed the present year, — fit close of the life of its illustrious author, and of a literary career of such rare brilliancy and success.

It would be altogether a work of supererogation to engage in any general commentary on the merits of Mr. Irving's two great historical works; and the occasion is not appropriate for a critical analysis of them. They have taken a recognized place in the historical literature of the age, and stand, by all confession, in the front rank of those works of history, of which this century, and especially this country, has been so honorably prolific. Reserving a distinguished place apart for the venerable name of Marshall, Mr. Irving leads the long line of American historians, — first in time, and not second in beauty of style, conscientious accuracy, and skilful arrangement of materials. As his two works treat respectively of themes, which, for purely American interest, stand at the head of all single subjects of historical research; so there is no one of our writers to whom the united voice of the country would, with such cheerful unanimity, have intrusted their composition.

From the time that he entered for life upon a literary career, Mr. Irving gave himself almost exclusively to its pursuit. He filled the office of *Chargé d'Affaires* for a short time in London, prior to his return to the United States; and that of Minister to Spain from 1842 to 1846. His diplomatic despatches in that capacity are among the richest of the treasures which lie buried in the public archives at Washington.

A more beautiful life than Mr. Irving's can hardly be imagined. Not unchecked with adversity, his early trials, under the soothing influence of time, without subduing the natural cheerfulness of his disposition, threw over it a mellow tenderness, which breathes in his habitual trains of thought, and is reflected in the amenity of his style. His misfortunes in business, kindly overruled by a gracious Providence, laid the foundation of literary success, reputation, and prosperity. At two different periods of his career, he engaged in public life; entering it without ambition, performing its duties with diligence and punctuality, and leaving it without regret. He was appointed *Chargé d'Affaires* to London under General Jackson's administration, and Minister to Spain under Mr. Tyler's, — the only instances, perhaps, in this century, in which a distinguished executive appointment has been made without a thought as to the political opinions of the person appointed. Mr. Irving's appointment to Spain was made on the recommendation of Mr. Webster, who told me that he regarded it as one of the most honorable memorials of his administration of the Department of State. It was no doubt a pleasing circumstance to Mr. Irving, to return, in his advancing years, crowned with public honors, to the country where, in earlier life, he had pursued his historical studies with so much success. But public life had no attractions for him. The respect and affection of the community followed him to his retirement. He lived in prosperity, without an ill-wisher; finished the work which was given him to do, amidst the blessings of his countrymen; and died, amidst loving kindred, in honor and peace.

REMARKS OF COL. ASPINWALL.

MR. PRESIDENT, — I speak by request, and should not otherwise have ventured to address you on the present occasion. It was my good fortune, sir, to make the acquaintance of Washington Irving in London, shortly after the termination of our last war with Great Britain. This led to an intimacy, quite domestic at times; and to years of cordial, unbroken friendship. In 1817, the mercantile establishment — which he had been kindly persuaded by his brother to join, that he might share its prosperity rather than the labor of the counting-house — had sunk under the pressure of unavoidable calamities; and he, with his brother (Dr. Peter Irving), came to reside in London, where he resumed his pen, and manfully braced himself up to the task of gaining an honest independence. The period was not propitious. The irritation excited by the war had not ceased. English critics and periodical writers, in obedience to the popular impulse, derided the scantiness of our literature, and seized upon an American book as if it were their prey, and not at all a theme or subject of fair, legitimate criticism. On the other hand, it was a marked peculiarity of Washington Irving to need sympathy, support, and cheering encouragement. When these were withheld, he was shorn of half his strength.

It was under such disheartening circumstances that he began the "Sketch-Book." Writing, as it were, under the spur of necessity, he did not, as afterwards, when engaged upon other works of taste and imagination, wait for the moment of inspiration, but, oftentimes to the detriment of his health, toiled on incessantly, whether in the vein or not. Sensible that he was no longer in the midst of his old friends and countrymen, who had welcomed his previous works with rapturous applause, but in a community whose tolerance

could hardly be hoped for, he earnestly strove, in the course of his "Sketch-Book," to forestall, to soften and propitiate, the prevailing adverse spirit, by gentle rebuke, and appeals to generous feelings of brotherhood. For still greater protection, he took excessive pains to refine and perfect every sentence and every expression, until he considered it proof against cavil and derision.

When the "Sketch-Book" was ready for publication, no London publisher of eminence would consent to bring it out. After part of it had appeared in numbers in the United States, Mr. Miller, the present despatch-agent of the American Legation in London, but at that period a publisher and bookseller, undertook the publication at the author's expense. But scarcely had the first volume made its appearance, when Mr. Miller failed. Shortly after, at the friendly instance of Sir Walter Scott, Mr. Murray, who stood at the head of English publishers, bought the impression and British copyright. Under his auspices, the "Sketch-Book" soon found its way to the libraries and drawing-rooms of the three kingdoms. All classes of readers were fascinated by the beauty, and the malignity of criticism was disarmed by the humor, of the book. The author was overwhelmed by civilities from all quarters,—from the wise, the good, and the great, who sought to know and to honor him; and from the manoeuvring aspirants of the fashionable circles, who merely sought to make their houses more attractive by showing him up as a lion. To be thus singled out, and exposed to the public gaze, or, indeed, to be placed at any time in a conspicuous station before an assemblage, was his utter aversion. To escape such annoyances, he would often take refuge with his friends or family connections in the country. It was in an excursion of this sort,—I believe, from Birmingham to Oxford,—in company with his distinguished friend Leslie, the artist, that he wrought out, on the top of a stage-coach, his inimitable burlesque, "The Stout Gentleman."

It is not my purpose, Mr. President, to enter into any criticism of Mr. Irving's works; that subject has been exhausted by the able and comprehensive comments of our eminent colleagues (Mr. Longfellow and Mr. Everett) who have preceded me: but I would advert merely to the charge of anachronism which was brought against the "Sketch-Book." It was boldly said, that Mr. Irving had portrayed, as existing, English manners and customs that had been borrowed from the bygone days and writings of Addison and Steele, but were now utterly unknown and obsolete. Nothing is more untrue. He described what still exists, and what he had, and his Scotch critic had not, seen. Mr. Irving was no plagiarist. In regard to all proper subjects of description, and all that may be derived from observation, few writers have been so completely independent of extraneous aid as Washington Irving. Nothing seems to escape his notice. The narratives of his own adventures on the prairies and elsewhere, furnish, in every page, proofs of the vigilance and acuteness of his observation. His other more imaginative writings abound in instances, as all his friends know, of character, manners, and incidents drawn from life. His quick sense of the ludicrous was always in unison with the genuine kindness of his heart. He makes his portraits of character laughable, but generally contrives to secure our good-will for the individual portrayed.

Such of the works of Washington Irving as were written out of England after 1824 were confided to my disposal, and published under contracts made by me as his agent. Hence I am able to state, that, in his transactions, he had all the tact, promptitude, and exactness of a trained man of business; and also, that, owing to his amiable, upright, and liberal demeanor under all exigencies, a long intercourse between him, his publishers, and myself, continued to the end, unclouded even by a shade of dissatisfaction.

It would not become me, sir, to advert to Mr. Irving's

diplomatic career, after the ample and honorable tribute paid to his merits by so accomplished a diplomatist and statesman as our distinguished colleague (Mr. Everett); but I would merely say, that, when he was *Chargé d'Affaires* in London, such was the mutual confidence and cordial good-will subsisting between him and the corps of the Foreign Office, that he often drew up his reply to the minister's despatch in the office itself, and in concert with those who would commonly be regarded as his standing antagonists, but who were in truth, to the end of life, his fast friends.

His frank, affable, unassuming deportment, the purity of his life, his refined intelligence, and his quiet and cheerful pleasantry, made him welcome everywhere; and he, in turn, appreciated very highly the hospitalities and social intercourse which he enjoyed in England. But the favorite scene of his hours of relaxation was among children who had once known him and his amusing frolics and stories. He was always sure to be welcomed, at the first glimpse, with shouts of delight from the little merry group that rushed to him, hung upon his skirts, and clamored for another repetition of some thrice-told nursery-tale of his own invention.

A more touching example of fraternal affection than that which bound Washington Irving and his brothers together, the world has seldom witnessed. When Peter and Washington lived together in London, in modest apartments in Edward Street, Foley Place, the little daily stratagems, and efforts of self-sacrifice, of each, for the comfort of the other, were frequently the admiration of their friends and countrymen. Both were industriously engaged in literary labors; but the earnings all went into one purse.

In after-years, when in Spain, Peter, in the hope of aiding his brother, and to spare him an irksome toil, heedless of all fame or reward, devoted himself to the task of collecting and arranging materials from books, manuscripts, and documents, and to making preliminary investigations, connected with the

life of Columbus. Of this service he would not suffer the slightest notice to be given.

When his brothers were prosperous, every want of Washington's was gladly supplied, — even, as he said, for all his foolish youthful extravagances. When they were borne down by reverses, his purse, his home, his heart, was theirs. I shall never forget the tone of exultation in which he gave vent to his joy at being able to make some return for the thousand kindnesses of his prince of brothers, Ebenezer.

We may well imagine how severely the blow, which we all deplore, has fallen on the amiable and intellectual family circle which he had gathered under his roof; and how forlorn and desolate to them their home must be in the absence of him who was its light, ornament, and support, and the idol of their affections.

Mr. President, all will lament his death as a heavy loss to the nation and to the literary world; but there are thousands, here and abroad, who will mourn for him as a departed brother, who never made an enemy nor lost a friend.

REMARKS OF PROFESSOR FELTON.

MR. PRESIDENT, — After the just and eloquent tributes to Mr. Irving, I rise to express, in the simplest and most informal manner, my hearty sympathy with the feeling which has called this meeting together. We seem to be standing in a field of battle. The great leaders of thought, one after another, in rapid succession, are falling around us; the brightest stars are going down; and we, who have so long watched their courses through the heavens, find it hard to turn our gaze in the opposite direction, and to worship the new luminaries, however brilliant their rising. It is but a few months since we came together to sympathize with one another in the sudden loss of the great historian, who had done so much honor to the literature of our country by his masterly works,

and who was so beloved as a friend. Later we followed to the tomb the advocate and statesman, whose vivid eloquence had so long delighted the court, the senate, and the popular assembly.

And, now, the most venerable of our men of letters, the graceful essayist, the brilliant writer of fiction, the delightful biographer and historian, the genial and generous friend, whose whole life has been loyal to the sacred Muses; the man who never had an enemy; the author who never wrote a line, which, dying, he could wish to blot, — has closed the varied scene of his labors. Ripe in age, crowned with the warmest affections of his countrymen and of the whole literary world, he has gone from among us; and we shall see his face no more. Such an event, while it cannot surprise us, excites our sensibility, and naturally touches the heart. The tears we shed are a tribute to our common humanity. It soothes our grief to listen to the warm and tender tributes, paid from every quarter, to the memory of such a man; and we bless the elevating influence of the hour, when the orator and the poet, moved by the generous impulse of kindred natures, console the common sorrow by giving fit expression to the common admiration and love.

Who did not know Washington Irving, if not personally, in his works? Who, that read any thing, did not read his beautiful books? Who, that read them, ever failed to find there, not only entertainment for the passing hour, but the ennobling influence of refined and generous thoughts pervading his mind for ever after? His English style, so pure, so delicate, so clear, so rhythmical, — the natural expression of a pure, beautiful, and harmonious soul, exquisitely attuned to all that is lovely, graceful, and noble in nature and life, — embodying a character painted in immortal colors by the genius of Plato; his imagination, so gentle and so powerful, that brightened every thing it touched, as the genial sunshine kindles the landscape into beauty; his ready and delightful

wit and humor, that exhilarated us, not with tumultuous laughter, except, perhaps, in those sallies of the sportive genius of his youth, so happily touched upon by Mr. Everett, but with a serene gladness of spirit; his pathos, so tender, so true, so full of feeling for every form of sorrow, toned with a sweet, lingering sadness from the unforgotten sorrow of his early days, — what a combination of attractive qualities, adorning his personal character, and clothing his literary works with an inexpressible charm!

The personal associations of all, who ever had the happiness of knowing Mr. Irving, tell the same story. I recall with pleasure the fact, that, more than twenty years ago, I was indebted to my friend Mr. Longfellow — the mover of the resolutions on your table — for a letter of introduction to him, when making a visit to New York. I shall never forget the impression he then made upon me by his pleasant and cordial manners, the sprightliness of his conversation, and the unaffected friendliness, wholly free from any air of condescension, with which he placed me at ease, conversing as gentleman with gentleman; though he was the writer, world-renowned, and I was, till then, unknown to him by name. The acquaintance thus begun was maintained by social intercourse from time to time, and by occasional correspondence; and I can truly say, that his conversation, his letters, and his published writings, have always breathed the same modest, gentle, and generous spirit, utterly free from the jealous rivalries that sometimes mar the literary character, and harmonizing perfectly with his daily life, as portrayed to us this evening by the gallant soldier (Col. Aspinwall), who was so long his intimate and loving friend.

Allow me, Mr. President, to recall two or three little incidents, that may serve to illustrate some of the aspects of his character. The time when I saw the most of Mr. Irving was the winter of 1842, during the visit of Charles Dickens in New York. I had known this already distinguished writer in

Boston and Cambridge; and, while passing some weeks with my dear and lamented friend Albert Sumner, I renewed my acquaintance with Mr. Dickens, often meeting him in the brilliant literary society which then made New York a most agreeable resort. Halleck, Bryant, Washington Irving, Davis, and others scarcely less attractive by their genius, wit, and social graces, constituted a circle not to be surpassed anywhere in the world. I passed much of the time with Mr. Irving and Mr. Dickens; and it was delightful to witness the cordial intercourse of the young man, in the flush and glory of his fervent genius, and his elder compeer, then in the assured possession of immortal renown. Dickens said, in his frank, hearty manner, that, from his childhood, he had known the works of Irving; and that, before he thought of coming to this country, he had received a letter from him, expressing the delight he felt in reading the story of little Nell; and from that day they had shaken hands *autographically* across the Atlantic. Great and varied as was the genius of Mr. Irving, there was one thing he shrunk with a comical terror from attempting; and that was a *dinner-speech*. A great dinner, however, was to be given to Mr. Dickens in New York, as one had already been given in Boston; and it was evident to all, that no man but Washington Irving could be thought of to preside. With all his dread of making a speech, he was obliged to obey the universal call, and to accept the painful pre-eminence. I saw him daily during the interval of preparation, either at the lodgings of Dickens, or at dinner or evening parties. I hope I showed no want of sympathy with his forebodings; but I could not help being amused with the tragi-comical distress which the thought of that approaching dinner caused him. His pleasant humor mingled with the real dread, and played with the whimsical horrors of his own position with an irresistible drollery. Whenever it was alluded to, his invariable answer was, "I shall certainly break down!" — uttered in a half-melancholy tone, the ludicrous

effect of which it is impossible to describe. He was haunted, as if by a nightmare; and I could only compare his dismay to that of Mr. Pickwick, who was so alarmed at the prospect of leading about that "dreadful horse" all day. At length, the long-expected evening arrived; a company of the most eminent persons, from all the professions and every walk of life, were assembled; and Mr. Irving took the chair. I had gladly accepted an invitation; making it, however, a condition that I should not be called upon to speak: a thing I then dreaded quite as much as Mr. Irving himself. The direful compulsions of life have since helped me to overcome, in some measure, the post-prandial fright. Under the circumstances,—an invited guest, with no impending speech,—I sat calmly, and watched with interest the imposing scene. I had the honor to be placed next but one to Mr. Irving, and the great pleasure of sharing in his conversation. He had brought the manuscript of his speech, and laid it under his plate. "I shall certainly break down," he repeated over and over again. At last, the moment arrived. Mr. Irving rose, and was received with deafening and long-continued applause, which by no means lessened his apprehension. He began in his pleasant voice; got through two or three sentences pretty easily, but in the next hesitated; and, after one or two attempts to go on, gave it up, with a graceful allusion to the tournament, and the troops of knights all armed and eager for the fray; ended with the toast, "Charles Dickens, the guest of the nation." "There," said he, as he resumed his seat under a repetition of the applause which had saluted his rising,—“there, I told you I should break down; and I've done it.” There certainly never was made a shorter after-dinner speech: I doubt if there ever was a more successful one. The manuscript seemed to be a dozen or twenty pages long; but the printed speech was not as many lines. I suppose that manuscript may be still in existence; and, if so, I wish it might be published. Mr. Irving often spoke with a good-humored envy of the felicity with

which Dickens always acquitted himself on such occasions. In the following spring, Irving went to England; and, being in London in May, he was, of course, invited to the annual dinner of the Literary Fund Society: but he was followed by the memory of the *Dickens Dinner*, and declined. One of the most amusing pages in the diary of Thomas Moore is the record of his conversation with Irving on the subject, and the final success of his endeavors to persuade him to go. "*That Dickens dinner*," says Moore, "which he always pronounced with strong emphasis, hammering away all the time with his right arm, *more suo*, — *that Dickens dinner* still haunted his imagination; and I almost gave up all hope of persuading him." But he succeeded. He closes his record with the philosophical reflection, that "it is very odd, that, while some of the shallowest fellows go on so glib and ready with the tongue, men whose minds are abounding with matter should find such difficulty in bringing it out. I found that Lockhart also had declined attending the dinner, under a similar apprehension; and only consented on condition that his health should not be given."

I felt a particular interest in the sequel of this dinner history; for, some years later, I had a whimsical adventure with that same Literary Fund Anniversary myself. *Haud inexpertus*.

The crowning work of Mr. Irving's literary life — connecting his literary fame, as his baptismal name had from his infancy connected him, with the Father of his country — was, of course, the "Life of Washington." Every American must have hailed with no common delight a work on such a subject, from such a pen. I have read but few books in my life with so deep an interest as I read the successive volumes of that most faithful yet brilliant and picturesque biography. The genius of the author and the character of the man seemed to me to shine with peculiar brightness from its enchanting pages. In the description of life in Virginia,

during Washington's youth, Irving's power of word-painting is beautifully shown. In the sketches of the frontier wars, in which the youthful hero bore so conspicuous a part; in the tragedy of Braddock's rash expedition; in the military narratives of the Revolution; in the presentation of Washington as the Chief Magistrate of the Republic; in the picture of his retirement, and his peaceful death,—everywhere we feel the inspiration of genius working upon a congenial theme; everywhere we discern a profound and loving appreciation of Washington's peerless character.

In the second volume there is an account of Washington's residence at Cambridge, as Commander-in-chief of the American Army. Mr. Irving was led into a slight mistake in reference to the General's head-quarters. The records state that the President's house was assigned him for this purpose; meaning the President of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts: but Mr. Irving understood it to be the President of the University, and so stated. Feeling a great interest in the historical fame of the Cragie House,—the real head-quarters of the General, and at that time one of the most stately mansions in Massachusetts, having been built for a Tory family of great wealth,—I took the liberty of calling Mr. Irving's attention to the error, and of stating to him the leading facts in the subsequent history of the house; its occupancy by Mr. Cragie, from whom it derives its present name; more recently by Mr. Everett, Mr. Sparks, Judge Phillips, Mr. Worcester, and now—and, I trust, for many years to come—by the poet Longfellow. Mr. Irving immediately wrote me a most cordial letter, and, in a pleasant note to the next volume, made the correction. When the concluding volume appeared, I was confined to my bed with severe illness. This circumstance enabled me to read it continuously to the end; and I would gladly have submitted to a much longer and more serious illness, if its pains could have been charmed away by another volume from the same magic pen. To me, under any cir-

cumstances, the last volume would have had a powerful fascination, not only because it sketched admirably the closing of Washington's great career, but because some elements of interest are interwoven here, that give delightful play to the author's gentle imagination. Nelly Custis "was now maturing into a lovely and attractive woman;" and "these were among the poetic days of Mount Vernon, when its halls echoed to the tread of lovers." The pictures of romance blend softly with the surrounding scenes; and the tender genius of Irving, neither repressed by age nor cooled by the chills of approaching dissolution, sympathizes as warmly as ever with the joys and affections of the young. But I confess that I felt the charm of this volume, enhanced by the circumstances under which I read it, more powerfully than I had been affected by either of its predecessors. As soon as I was able to hold a pen, I could not resist the impulse to write Mr. Irving a letter of thanks for the gratification and benefit I had derived from it; and as I knew that he was in feeble health, and must be exhausted by his recent labors, I begged him not to take the trouble of replying. I had written to gratify my own feelings, to express my own sense of obligation under peculiar circumstances, and not to impose on him the burden of sending an answer.

But, notwithstanding this, only a few days elapsed before an answer came. The tone of the letter is so cordial, and the acknowledgment so warm towards me, that I have never read or shown it to any except one or two members of my own immediate family. I hesitated somewhat to bring it with me to-night; but, considering that it illustrates the peculiar sweetness and beauty of his character, I cast all personal scruples aside, and, with your permission, will read it now for the first time, hoping the members of the Society will look upon my act simply as what I intend it to be, — a most affectionate testimony to the incomparable loveliness of his temper, and the winning modesty of his judgment of himself.

SUNNYSIDE, May 17, 1859.

MY DEAR SIR,—I cannot sufficiently express to you how much I feel myself obliged by your very kind letter of the 12th instant, giving such a favorable notice of my last volume. I have been very much out of health of late, with my nerves in a sad state, and with occasional depression of spirits; and, in this forlorn plight, had come to feel very dubious about the volume I had committed to the press. Your letter had a most salutary and cheering effect; and your assurance, that the last volume had been to you *of more absorbing interest than either of the others*, carried a ray of joy to my heart: for I was sadly afraid the interest might be considered as falling off.

Excuse the brevity of this letter; for I am suffering to-day from the lingerings of a nervous complaint, from which I am slowly recovering: but I could not suffer another day to elapse without thanking you for correspondence which has a more balmy effect than any of my doctor's prescriptions.

With great regard,

I am, my dear Mr. Felton,

Yours very truly,

WASHINGTON IRVING.

PROFESSOR C. C. FELTON.

I happened afterwards to learn, from an intimate friend of Mr. Irving's family, that, at the moment my letter arrived, he was in a peculiar state of nervous depression, and had not yet received any of those cheering testimonies, which doubtless came to him soon after, of the entire success of the concluding volume; and this circumstance gave to my letter an exaggerated value in his judgment. That I happened to give a moment's pleasure to a man from whose genius I had enjoyed so much for many years, is a cherished recollection to me now, and will be as long as I live.

Mr. Everett, in his elegant memoir, spoke of the vast extent of Mr. Irving's literary fame. It was only last week, Mr. President, that I received a package of books from friends of mine in Athens. On looking them over, I found one with the following title, in Greek: "Christopher Columbus; a

History of his Life and Voyages, according to Washington Irving" (κατὰ τὸν Ὀυασιγτῶνα Ἰρβιγγ). It is the translation of an abridgment of the original work, published in Athens only last year. And who, do you think, is the translator? Why, no less a person than Mr. G. A. ARISTIDES, a Greek of Mitylene, — Sappho's home, — who vindicates his right to the name by the *justice* of his estimate of Mr. Irving. In a well and even classically written preface, after giving an account of the other works published in Europe on the life of Columbus, he says, "In the following year (i.e., after the publication of Navarrete's 'Spanish Collections'), the illustrious Washington Irving, residing in Spain, and having at his disposal the materials already prepared, composed in four volumes the 'History of the Life and Adventures of Christopher Columbus.' This work met with a warm reception; and within a few years, having been translated into the different languages, was circulated through Europe, and raised its author to the highest degree of fame."

I have been pleased to find that Aristides has been able to transfer to his Greek the grace and amenity of Mr. Irving. His translation has qualities of style that would do no discredit to Xenophon himself. It is free and flowing, descriptive and luminous. In those remarkable chapters which record the anxieties and difficulties that beset the great commander in the trying days when he was approaching the coast of the hitherto undiscovered continent, and which contain such vivid descriptions of the aspects of nature, and the new wonders which, for the first time, met the eyes of the European navigators, Mr. Aristides finds his native Greek fully equal to the demand made upon its resources of expression.

I have taken the liberty, Mr. President, to give these little details, in order to throw, if I might, a few side-lights upon Mr. Irving's character. The admirable memoir by Mr. Everett, the beautiful and discriminating remarks with which Mr.

Longfellow introduced the appropriate series of resolutions on your table, and the interesting details, given with so much manly tenderness of feeling, by Col. Aspinwall, left nothing to be desired; but I could not hesitate a moment to add the expression of my concurrence in the honors they have so fittingly paid to the virtues and genius of Washington Irving.

I am struck, Mr. President, by the harmony of the final scene with the gentle tenor of Mr. Irving's life. He died, as he lived, the favored of Heaven, and the beloved of men. It was a beautiful fiction of ancient poetry, that Sleep and Death were twin-brothers, the ministers of Jove. In a remarkable passage of the oldest and best of poets, one of the heroes, a son of Jupiter, having closed his career on the field of battle, is borne away by Sleep and Death to his distant home in Lycia, and buried in his native earth. This legend, a poetical fiction to the ancients, became a beautiful reality to our illustrious associate. After passing an evening in pleasant conversation with the loving circle at Sunnyside, he retired to his chamber to sleep; but, happier than he thought, Sleep and Death — gracious ministers of God — bore him thence to his eternal home in heaven.

DR. HOLMES'S REMARKS.

I have made no formal preparation for this evening in the shape of any written line; and I should feel any elaborate paper uncalled for, after the varied and most interesting tributes to the personal and literary character of Mr. Irving, to which we have just listened. I have nothing to suggest in addition or modification, except to correct the impression that Mr. Irving *never* wrote in verse. Three instances are mentioned by Mr. Duyckink in his notes of Irving, contained in the "Cyclopædia of American Literature," which show how slight an accident might have made a versifier of one who

was born a poet. I have long remembered some lines of his, printed in an Annual, as an illustration of a picture of Stuart Newton's, and beginning, —

“ Frostie age, frostie age,
Vain all thy learning;
Drowsie page, drowsie page,
Evermore turning.”

If we wonder at first that he did not write oftener with the aid of rhythm and rhyme, we shall cease to wonder when we remember how natural a music flows with the unbroken current of his translucent prose.

I should not have risen, were it not that I have a few slight but recent personal reminiscences of Mr. Irving, which some may be pleased to hear. I visited New York and its vicinity last December, professedly for the purpose of delivering certain lectures, but mainly with the intent of looking upon the face of Washington Irving before it should be veiled from our earthly eyes. The kind invitation of a friend of his and mine promised me an introduction to the home in which he was realizing his early dream of rest and peace. I learned, however, on arriving at New York, that he had been very ill of late, and that it was doubtful whether he would be in a condition to see me. At least, however, I might look upon that home of his, next to Mount Vernon, the best known and most cherished of all the dwellings in our land.

Sunnyside was *Snowyside* on that December morning; yet the thin white veil could not conceal the features of a place long familiar to me through the aid of engravings and photographs, and as stereotyped in the miraculous solid sun-pictures. The sharp-pinnacled roof, surmounted by the old Dutch weather-cock; the vine-clad cottage, with its three-arched open porch, — open on all sides, like the master's heart, — were there just as I knew them, just as thousands know them who have never trodden or floated between the banks of the Hudson.

We knocked, and were admitted ; feeling still very doubtful whether Mr. Irving would be able to see us. Presently we heard a slow step, which could not be mistaken in that household of noiseless footfalls. Mr. Irving entered the room, and welcomed us in the most cordial manner. He was slighter, and more delicately organized, than I had supposed ; of less than average stature, I should think ; looking feeble, but with kindness beaming from every feature. He spoke almost in a whisper, with effort, his voice muffled by some obstruction. Age had treated him like a friend ; borrowing somewhat, as is his wont, but lending also those gentle graces which give an inexpressible charm to the converse of wise and good old men, whose sympathies keep their hearts young and their minds open.

I could not repeat the half-hour's talk I enjoyed with him, if I would. It would be pardonable in any of us, whose boyhood had breathed the atmosphere of his delicious day-dreams, to speak of the pleasure we had received from a writer whom we had so long loved unseen. It was not unnatural that he should speak with indulgent good nature to a visitor from a distant place, almost a generation younger than himself ; since he was born in the same year which saw the advent in the literary world of the renowned Diedrich Knickerbocker. But it was painful to see the labor which it cost Mr. Irving to talk ; and I could not forget, that, however warm my welcome, I was calling upon an invalid, and that my visit must be short. Something authorized me to allude to his illness, and my old professional instincts led me to suggest to him the use of certain palliatives which I had known to be used in some cases having symptoms which resembled his own.

After returning home, I sent him some articles of this kind. Early in January, he wrote me a letter of considerable length ; saying, among other things, that he had used some medicated *cigarettes* I sent him, with much relief. This letter

was overflowing with expressions of kindness; but, though written in his own hand, it had no signature. I sent it back to him for his name; telling him that his was the first autograph I had ever asked for, but that I must have it at the end of such a letter. The next post brought the letter back signed.

I received about this time a communication from Mr. Irving's attached and intelligent family physician, Dr. J. C. Peters of New York, containing many details of his symptoms, and of what had been done to relieve them. Some general account of Mr. Irving's mode of life, before and after he was attacked by his then recent illness, may interest the members of the Society. [Extracts from Dr. Peters's letter were here read; which are omitted, as the full details of Mr. Irving's case will doubtless be given to the public hereafter.] Even in his usual health, he had a "strange gipsy and cat-like way of murdering good Christian sleep," as his physician pleasantly calls it. He was in the habit of rising in the night, between twelve and four o'clock, and reading, or even writing, for half an hour or an hour. He did not get, on the average, more than four hours' sleep at night, but often took short naps in the afternoon and evening. This natural, or at least habitual, irregularity of sleep, became aggravated to extreme nervousness and restlessness after an attack of fever and ague in the autumn of 1858. He was still suffering from the effects of this when I saw him.

But beneath all these nervous disturbances lay a deeper difficulty, which was distinctly mentioned to me in his physician's letter as "enlargement of the heart," accompanied by "an obstructed circulation." Under these influences, with growing age to weaken the power of resistance, his health gradually declined, until the flame of life, which had been getting paler and feebler, was blown out, as it were, by a single breath; a gentle end of a sweet and lovely life, — such an end as Nature prepares by slow and measured approaches,

and consummates with swift kindness when she grants the blessing of *euthanasia* to her favorite children.

Mr. SEARS read a note from Mr. Ticknor, stating that a slight accident prevented him from being present, and uniting, as he would gladly have done, with the Society, in paying the tribute of respect to the memory of their late eminent associate.

The following letter was communicated from Mr. George Sumner:—

BOSTON, Dec. 15, 1859.

MY DEAR LONGFELLOW, — An imperative engagement calls me in half an hour from the city, and will deprive me of the melancholy satisfaction of joining, this evening, in the tribute of the Historical Society to the memory of Washington Irving.

Others will speak of his literary fame; of his style, as graceful and delicate as that of Charles Nodier; and of the chords of ever-sensitive feeling he has touched; which cause the "Sketch-Book" to be more widely read *in its original tongue* than any book in our language, except the "Vicar of Wakefield." I would fain, if present, speak of his genial and constant friendship, of his faith in man, and of his readiness to find good in every thing.

There is also one part of his life — the least familiar, perhaps, to the public — on which it seems fitting that something should be said: I mean, his diplomatic career as minister to Spain. He was there at a moment of great political excitement; when the party which had most strongly toiled for liberty, being in power, "veiled temporarily," to use the borrowed words of one of its minister's proclamations, — "veiled temporarily the statue of the law," and, having done this, fell.

In the turmoil that ensued, delicate questions arose, which Mr. Irving treated with promptness and success.

On one occasion, citizens of the United States, resident as merchants in Spain, had been compelled to serve in the National Guard. Mr. Irving's protest against this was met by the declaration, that, the property of these Americans being protected by the National Guard, it was their duty to join its ranks. In the correspondence that ensued, as in all his relations with the Spanish Government, Mr. Irving showed the suavity, so congenial to his nature, and so presumptive of latent force. He carried all his points, and gave a lesson of conduct to other diplomatists.

In his career as a minister, as in his social life, there was a constant recognition of the rights of others; and, as a natural result of this, a constant respect on the part of others for his own rights.

Mr. Irving was, in the largest sense of the word, a national man,—keenly alive to the honor and good name of the republic; and his honest nature revolted at any forgetfulness of it on the part of those whom the people have selected as their representatives. He was too hopeful to give way to despair: but he was moved even to tears by the spectacle which our country presented, not many years ago, of a succession of expeditions fitted out to invade the territory of a friendly power; and he had read history too well not to see, in these forays, examples which would return to plague their inventors.

His civic life was as honorable, and as true to the principles of the founders of the republic, as was his public career as minister; but this will doubtless be fully treated by his biographer. It is enough for the present to say, that, to those who had the privilege of his intimacy, his character seemed, in every respect, complete. We drop a tear upon the grave of the author, the friend, the public servant, the citizen.

Ever faithfully yours,

GEORGE SUMNER.

The Resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

Voted, That the Corresponding Secretary be directed to communicate the thanks of the Society to J. Carson Brevoort, Esq., for his valuable and interesting contributions to their archives, presented through the hands of Mr. Everett, and referred to in his remarks.

JANUARY MEETING. — 1860.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day (Thursday), the 12th of January, at twelve o'clock, noon, at their rooms in Tremont Street; Hon. DAVID SEARS, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary announced donations from the Essex Institute; Chicago Historical Society; Maine Historical Society; publishers of the "Architects' and Mechanics' Journal;" New-England Historic-Genealogical Society; G. B. Faribault, Esq.; B. P. Johnson, Esq.; Rev. Leonard Woods, D.D.; Dr. S. A. Green; C. W. Parsons, M.D.; Miss M. A. Smith; and from Messrs. Brigham, Robbins, Saltonstall, D. Sears, E. H. Sears, and Shurtleff, of the Society.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary communicated a letter from the Librarian of Bowdoin College, stating that several volumes of the Collections of this Society were wanting to complete their set; and requesting information as to the mode in which the deficiency might be supplied.

Whereupon, on motion of Mr. SAVAGE, it was *Voted*, That the Librarian be directed to present to Bowdoin College the numbers of our Collections in which the library of that institution is deficient.

HON. BENJAMIN F. THOMAS and DR. SAMUEL A. GREEN were elected Resident Members of the Society.

The Chairman of the Standing Committee offered the following vote, which was passed without dissent; viz.,—

Voted, That a Committee be raised to consider and report what measures should be taken by the Society in respect to publishing papers read and proceedings had at its meetings.

The Chair nominated, as members of this Committee, Messrs. Savage, Whitney, and Hudson.

MR. ROBBINS presented, on behalf of Edward S. Rand, Esq., a mounted copy of a “Plan of Mannadoes, or New Amsterdam,” in 1661. *Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to E. S. Rand, Esq., for his acceptable donation.

MR. TICKNOR read several highly interesting letters, selected from the papers of the late Samuel Eliot.

The Treasurer made a verbal report on the state of the treasury; the consideration of which was referred to the next meeting.

SPECIAL MEETING.

The Society held a special meeting this evening, the 26th of January, at half-past seven o'clock, at the residence of Dr. Jacob Bigelow, in Mount Vernon Street; Hon. DAVID SEARS, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

Mr. WASHBURN, Chairman of the Standing Committee, after a brief allusion to the death of Lord Macaulay, an Honorary Member of the Society, offered the following resolutions ; viz., —

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society, on the occasion of this their first meeting since receiving the melancholy tidings of the death of Lord Macaulay, one of their foreign Honorary Members, would add, to the universal expressions of regret which that event has called forth, a testimony of their sincere sorrow, and a tribute of unfeigned respect for one whose brilliant and honorable career of literary success has been so suddenly arrested.

Resolved, That while his wisdom as a statesman, his erudition as a scholar, his power and elegance as a writer, and his virtues as a man, elevated him to a conspicuous position among the great men of his time, his transcendent qualities and accomplishments as a historian have won for him the very highest rank in his chosen department of letters, and have secured for him an enduring fame.

Resolved, That the impression of sadness which his death has occasioned is deepened by the thought, that his last great work is left unfinished ; and that his inestimable store of gathered materials for a history of England during the golden age of its literature, as well as in subsequent periods, has been lost, with himself, to his country and to the world.

Mr. EVERETT, in seconding the resolutions, offered a few appropriate and touching remarks ; and read extracts from several letters addressed to himself by Lord Macaulay at various periods during the last ten or twelve years, one of which was unfinished, and was found in the pocket of the historian after his decease.

Mr. HILLARD and Mr. TICKNOR spoke, with great

feeling, of the eminent personal virtues as well as the illustrious literary accomplishments of Lord Macaulay; interspersing their remarks with interesting reminiscences of their interviews with him in London, and with anecdotes illustrating his private and social life.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Mr. ROBBINS remarked, that he had recently received letters from the President of the Society (Hon. R. C. Winthrop), now in Europe; from which, although they were of a private nature, he would venture to read to the meeting a few extracts.

Writing from Paris under the date 14th December, 1859, Mr. Winthrop thus alludes to the death of Mr. Irving:—

A telegraph from Liverpool, in the papers of this morning tells us of the death of Washington Irving. No purer or gentler or more genial spirit was ever clothed in mere mortal vestments. I cannot bear to think of so much genius and so much goodness lost to the world, and more particularly to our portion of the world. And yet they are not lost. He had done his work; and a great work it was for American literature and American history. I rejoice that he was permitted to finish his charming "Biography of Washington," the crowning labor of his life; and which has done, and will continue to do, so much to impress upon the popular mind and heart the consummate virtues and wisdom of the greatest of men. I wish I could have been at home to unite with our Society in the tribute which I am sure they have been eager to pay him. I would have ventured to read to them a note which I received from him on his seventieth birthday, and which was full of that charming sentiment which breathes through so many of his earlier and of his later writings. I must have received it six or seven years ago; but I could

almost repeat it by heart, so much did it impress me. It was only yesterday that I was talking about Irving with our mutual friend Calderon de la Barca, and recalling his account of the time, during his residence in Madrid, when he was intimate in the family of the present Empress of France, and when he often had the beautiful little Eugénie on his knee ! Calderon spoke of him as one who had left the most delightful impressions in Spain, and who was still remembered there with the greatest interest and respect and affection. Indeed, nobody could help loving him, who was ever admitted to his friendship, or even to his acquaintance. Nay, the mere reading of his works was enough to inspire an affection for their author. It happened that my old master, Mr. Gould, whose recent death I have observed with so much sorrow, presented to me a copy of Irving's Works (as many of them as were then written), as a parting token of his approbation and regard, when I left school, nearly forty years ago ; and my earliest associations of pride and honor were with the "Sketch-Book" and "Bracebridge Hall." What exquisite writings they were, and are still ! They gave the first idea of an American literature to the world ; and though I do not forget that other good books, and some of them great books, had been previously written and published in our country, yet it is hardly an extravagance to speak of Washington Irving as the *princeps* of American authors, the first in order of time, and hardly second to any, in point of accomplishment, among those who have adopted literature as a profession, and who have given American literature a place in the libraries of the world. But I am writing at midnight, after a day of laborious sight-seeing ; and must not venture further upon a topic which deserves the best pen which can be brought to it.

In a letter dated Paris, 2d January, 1860, and received this evening, Mr. Winthrop briefly notices the death of Baron Macaulay : —

We have lost De Tocqueville recently ; and now we have Macaulay also, among our foreign members, to deplore. I saw Macaulay at his own house in July, and hoped to have seen him again in the spring ; but I observed a great change in him since I met him in 1847, and was not wholly surprised at his early and sudden death. Mons. Guizot, whom I saw on Saturday, and to whom I gave the information of Macaulay's death, said of him, with great feeling, "He was one of my best friends in England, and the most brilliant writer of the English language." Irving and he have gone together, as Prescott and Hallam did at the opening of the year. These are vacancies which will hardly be supplied in our day and generation.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day (Thursday), the 9th of February, at twelve o'clock, noon ; Hon. DAVID SEARS, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary being absent from the State, the Chair appointed Mr. Whitney Secretary *pro tem*.

The records of the last stated meeting, and those of the special meeting held the 26th of January at the residence of Dr. Jacob Bigelow, were read. The Librarian made his report, announcing donations from the American Antiquarian Society ; American Philosophical Society ; Essex Institute ; New-England Historic-Genealogical Society ; Trustees of State Lunatic Asylum ; Henry Stevens, William T. Wardwell, James Lenox,

and J. M. Wightman, Esqs.; Hon. Theron Metcalf; and Messrs. William Appleton, J. Bigelow, Deane, Green, Hudson, Livermore, Quint, Robbins, Savage, Sparks, E. H. Sears, and Webb, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary stated that communications had been received from Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas, and Samuel A. Green, M.D., accepting membership. He then read a letter from Mr. Isaac I. Greenwood of New York, a descendant of Dr. John Clark, in regard to an account of a portrait in the rooms of the Historical Society, to be found in the seventh volume of the Third Series of the Society's Collections, stating that the account was incorrect. Mr. SAVAGE expressed regret that such an error should have found its way into our Collections, and said it had long ago been corrected. The letter was referred to the Cabinet-keeper for a reply to the question asked therein.

Mr. QUINCY made a few remarks in regard to a manuscript of fifty-seven pages, which he held in his hand; being "Observations of the Merchants of Havre de Grace upon the Arrêt of the Council of State, dated Aug. 30, 1784, concerning the Commerce of Foreigners in the French West-India Islands." After referring to the course of the French Government during the rule of Dessalines, by which the lucrative commerce between this country and St. Domingo was interrupted, he said that this manuscript was sent to himself while a member of the National Congress, in 1806, by some of our merchants, to afford him information in regard to certain facts; and, although, perhaps, of no great moment, might, as a matter of statistics, be of value: and

he therefore desired to place it in the archives of the Society.

Mr. TICKNOR made a communication relating to a letter addressed to Washington Irving by Mr. Prescott. He knew that such a letter had been written; and, shortly after Mr. Prescott's death, wrote to Washington Irving in regard to it. But he replied, that his search had been in vain, although the contents of the letter were vivid in his memory; and he feared that it had fallen a prey to the unscrupulous rapacity of autograph hunters. Mr. Pierre M. Irving, the nephew of Washington Irving, in turning over his uncle's papers, had discovered the lost letter; and Mr. Ticknor had this morning received it.

All would recall, said Mr. Ticknor, the letter of Mr. J. Lothrop Motley, read at the April meeting 1859, giving an account of his feelings on hearing that Mr. Prescott intended to write the "History of Philip II.," and that, therefore, his (Mr. Motley's) projected "History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic" would naturally traverse a portion of the same ground; his calling upon Mr. Prescott to ask if their plans would conflict; and, although young and a stranger, the cordial reception he received; the warm encouragement given him by Mr. Prescott to continue his work; the placing of his library at his disposal; &c.

Mr. Ticknor then remarked, that, shortly after the publication of "Ferdinand and Isabella," Mr. Prescott was placed in precisely similar relations with Washington Irving; and, it was needless to say, with a result alike honorable to both. Mr. Prescott had made exten-

sive collections for his "History of the Conquest of Mexico," when he accidentally learned that Irving had proposed to write a similar work; and it was this that produced the letter referred to, bearing date Dec. 30, 1858.

This interesting letter of Mr. Prescott was then read.

Mr. EVERETT, in announcing the decease of Henry D. Gilpin, Esq., spoke substantially as follows:—

At the meeting of the Society on the 20th of January, I expressed the apprehension, that we should soon be called to lament the loss of a distinguished honorary associate,— Mr. Gilpin of Philadelphia, — of whose health I had received by telegraph a very unfavorable account in the course of that day. This melancholy anticipation was realized a day or two afterwards. Having had the privilege of proposing him, in the course of the past year, as an associate whose election would do honor to the Historical Society, and having enjoyed his friendship for many years, I feel it a duty to submit to the Society an appropriate tribute of respect to his memory.

If we can, with propriety, use such an expression of the resigned and tranquil close of an honored and useful life, the death of Mr. Gilpin, under the age of sixty, was *premature*; but it found him prepared. In his own parting words, he died "at peace with God and man." Born and educated in Philadelphia, he adopted the law as his profession, and rose rapidly to eminence in its practice. While yet a young man, he was appointed District Attorney of the United States; and afterwards Solicitor of the Treasury, and Attorney-General. He sustained himself honorably at the most important forum in the country in these eminent positions, sometimes in opposition to the most distinguished counsel of the day. No interest confided to him ever suffered in his hands for want of ability or attention on his part; while to the utmost

energy and firmness in the discharge of duty he added an unfailing gentleness and courtesy of manner. While he filled the office of District Attorney, he published a volume of reports of cases adjudicated in the court of which he was an officer; and he afterwards made a collection of the opinions of the attorneys-general, from the foundation of the government to the year 1841. He also, about the same time, rendered a very important service to the constitutional literature of the country by a careful and conscientious collation and edition of the "Madison Papers." No publication within my knowledge, issued under the auspices of the Government of the United States, has been more judiciously and skilfully prepared for the press.

Mr. Gilpin, although eminently successful in his professional and political career, appeared to be wholly destitute of political ambition; and, retiring in early manhood from all public occupations, devoted himself to the gratification of more congenial tastes. He had always cultivated letters, as his favorite recreation from professional toil; and henceforward gave himself almost exclusively to literary pursuits. He had been, from an early period, a successful and a popular writer in the leading periodicals of the day, including the *Quarterly Reviews*. He wrote several of the articles in the original edition of the "Biographies of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence;" and the second edition of that work was published under his supervision, with large additions. He also wrote biographical notices of several distinguished contemporaries; among others, of Mr. Livingston, Mr. Forsyth, and Mr. Silas Wright. His discourses and addresses on various public occasions are among the most valuable performances of the kind; always admirably written, discriminating, full of fact, and in good taste. His "Address on the Life and Character of Franklin," delivered at Philadelphia a few years since, contains one of the most judi-

cious and instructive discussions of the entire career of our great countryman which has ever appeared.

In the possession of ample means, Mr. Gilpin bestowed a liberal expenditure on the formation of a library. His collection consisted of twelve or fifteen thousand well-selected volumes, in the various departments of general literature. It was a library, not of bibliographical rarities, but of books for use; and he was as well acquainted with their contents as any man can be with the contents of a library of that size. He was among the most finished classical scholars in the country; and his shelves contained the best editions of the ancient authors, which he read systematically and with care. He collected maps, charts, and plans of cities, with great diligence; always, in his travels, procuring the best articles of that kind: and, where nothing already published was to be had, he occasionally, in order to complete a series, caused original drawings and sketches to be made.

Mr. Gilpin's taste for the fine arts had been carefully cultivated by the study of the best works at home and abroad. His residence was tastefully adorned with valuable works of painting and statuary. He was well acquainted with the characteristic merits of the great masters, which he had diligently observed in Europe. He took much interest in the progress of art at home; and was the President of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, giving much time to the management of its affairs.

He was an active member and a Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and had explored several branches of local antiquity with great diligence. He was especially conversant with the political history of the United States; having added to a large acquaintance with the public men of the day the diligent perusal of every standard work in that department. In all his studies, the grasp of a very retentive memory was strengthened by great method in the arrangement and disposition of his books and papers.

Mr. Gilpin had formed intimate personal relations with some of the most eminent statesmen of the day. He was especially in the confidence of the late distinguished jurist,—Mr. Livingston,—who, if I mistake not, in preparing his “Code,” and the Reports illustrating it, more than once resorted to Mr. Gilpin’s stores of professional knowledge, as well as to his amply furnished library. There were few subjects of literary, scientific, or professional inquiry on which important original views might not be gathered from his conversation or correspondence; and few persons, I presume, were more frequently consulted in this way by their friends.

A few years ago, Mr. Gilpin made an extensive tour in Europe and Western Asia. No American within my acquaintance has ever gone abroad better qualified to travel to advantage, or has returned with a richer store of personal observation. Acquainted beforehand with all that books teach of the objects deserving attention, he devoted to the discriminating inspection of what is really important that time which, under the dictation of ignorant couriers, is wasted by so many travellers in vague curiosity-hunting and tasteless sight-seeing.

Mr. Gilpin took an enlightened interest in the subject of education, and especially in the Girard College, of which he was an active and efficient director. In frequent visits to Philadelphia within the last few years, I had abundant opportunity to become acquainted with the minute and truly parental care with which he watched over that institution, not merely in matters of general administration, but with kindly sympathy with the individual inmates and their progress.

It would be hardly proper before a public body to speak of Mr. Gilpin in the relations of private life, further than to say, that he might be cited as a model son, brother, husband, and friend; unsurpassed in the courtesies which make the charm of social intercourse, and convert even a passing visit into a substantial enjoyment.

Mr. Gilpin left a handsome fortune. The provisions of his will, executed a short time before his death, have been made public, and show, that, after obeying in the amplest manner the impulses of affection and duty, he contemplated munificent and permanent endowments of the public institutions with which he was connected. The grave has rarely closed over a character of such great and varied excellence; and his death is a loss not merely to Philadelphia, but to the whole country.

I beg leave to offer the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society have received with becoming sensibility the melancholy tidings of the decease of their honorary associate, Henry D. Gilpin, Esq., Vice-President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, President of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and a Director of the Girard College at Philadelphia.

Resolved, That the various and distinguished accomplishments of Mr. Gilpin as a jurist, a statesman, and a scholar; his numerous and valuable contributions to the historical and miscellaneous literature of the country; his eminent services as a friend and patron of education, of the fine arts, and the benevolent institutions of the community; and his recognized character as an enlightened and public-spirited citizen, — entitle him to an honored place among the illustrious dead of the past twelvemonth, and will cause his name to be held in respectful and grateful remembrance.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the family of our lamented associate, with the assurance of the sincere sympathy of the Massachusetts Historical Society in their bereavement.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted; and the Secretary was directed to see that the last resolve was carried into effect.

Mr. Everett called particular attention to the donation of Mr. Lenox, of which the Librarian had made mention, — a quarto volume of sixty-three pages; a few

copies only having been privately printed by Mr. Lenox, in beautiful style, with an introduction by himself. This volume, entitled "Nicolaus Syllacius de Insulis Meridiani atque Indici Maris nuper inventis," with a translation into English by the Rev. John Mulligan, A.M., New York, 1859, relates to the second voyage of Columbus, and was originally published in 1494 or 1495. Only two copies are known to exist; one of these, from which the reprint was made, being in the possession of Mr. Lenox.

On motion of Mr. R. FROTHINGHAM, Jun., the Secretary was requested to make a special acknowledgment of this valuable gift to the library.

MARCH MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day (Thursday), the 8th of March, at noon, in their rooms, Tremont Street; Hon. DAVID SEARS, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the Essex Institute; Mercantile-Library Association of Philadelphia; Pennsylvania Historical Society; Western Railroad Corporation; George Adams, Esq.; G. R. Babcock, Esq.; C. K. Dillaway, Esq.; Augustus Durant, Esq.; Rev. A. Hill, D.D.; B. P. Johnson, Esq.; S. S. Purple, M.D.; Benjamin S. Shaw, M.D.; Rev. E. M. Stone; John Wilson, Esq.; and from Messrs. Green, Robbins,

Shurtleff, Sibley, Ticknor, Tudor, Washburn, Waterston, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary communicated a letter of thanks from Bowdoin College for the gift of several volumes of the Society's Collections.

On motion of Mr. ROBBINS, the thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. G. R. Babcock for his acceptable donation to the Library.

Mr. DEANE, from the Committee on the Publication of the Catalogue, stated that the second volume is all in type, and will be completed by the Annual Meeting. He also asked instructions as to the catalogue of the manuscripts, whether the Society would prefer that a very general and brief list of this exceedingly valuable portion of the library should be included in the forthcoming volume, or — coinciding with the views of the Committee — would authorize them to prepare a full and minute catalogue of these treasures, to be published hereafter in a separate volume.

After considerable conversation, and various motions offered, but not finally passed, all tending, in the main, to sustain the preference expressed on behalf of the Committee, it was *Voted* to refer the subject to the Committee, who have now a general knowledge of the feelings of the members, — with full powers.

The Presiding Officer nominated Messrs. Washburn, Brigham, and Saltonstall a Committee to prepare a list of officers of the Society to be balloted for at the Annual Meeting.

The Chair also nominated, as a Committee to examine

the accounts of the Treasurer, Messrs. William Appleton, Gray, and Lowell.

The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to publish a portion of the "Prince Manuscripts," together with such other papers as may be necessary to complete a new volume of the Society's Collections; viz., Messrs. S. Lincoln, Quint, Latham, and Palmer.

An animated conversation ensued with reference to the affairs and interests of the Society.

Mr. ROBBINS stated, that, in the course of a recent examination of one of the cabinets of the Society, he had discovered a small bundle of ancient papers in manuscript and type, amongst which were two printed "Broad-sides;" being the theses, maintained at the time of their graduation, by the classes of 1643 and 1670 (H.C.). These interesting relics, the former of which, at least, is undoubtedly the only one extant, were then exhibited to the meeting. Mr. Robbins referred to the "Copy of the Questions given and maintained by the *Commencers* in their Publick Acts," A.D. 1642; which is contained in "New England's First Fruits," printed in London, 1643, and which is the only known contemporary account of the theses of the *first* class at Harvard.* It is an interesting circumstance, that this memorial of the *second* class [1643], transmitted by the

* The copy of these questions — which is given in the Appendix to vol. i. of Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay — was undoubtedly reprinted from the First Fruits; as he says, "The thesis, with a particular account of the whole proceeding, was published in England;" and adds, that he knows "but two copies extant." It must not be inferred from Hutchinson's language, that the theses were not originally printed in America; for, according to the statement in the First Fruits, they were "printed in Cambridge in New England, and reprinted *here* [London] verbatim."

care of those who have appreciated its value in former generations, has come to light at this late day, and can now be printed and preserved in a permanent form in connection with that of the *first* [1642].

[The Society's reprint of "First Fruits" (Coll., vol. i.) contains the following "Letter," but not the Theses. They are here printed together.]

The manner of the late Commencement, expressed in a Letter sent over from the Governour and diverse of the Ministers; their own words these.

The Students of the first Classis that have beene these foure yeeres trained up in University-Learning (for their ripening in the knowledge of the Tongues and Arts), and are approved for their manners, as they have kept their publick Acts in former yeares, our selves being present at them; so have they lately kept two solemne Acts for their Commencement, when the Governour, Magistrates, and the Ministers from all parts, with all sorts of Schollars, and others, in great numbers, were present, and did heare their Exercises; which were Latine and Greeke Orations and Declamations, and Hebrew Analasis — Grammaticall, Logicall, & Rhetoricall — of the Psalms: And their Answers and Disputations in Logicall, Ethicall, Physicall, and Metaphysicall Questions; and so were found worthy of the first degree (commonly called Batchelour) *pro more Academicarum in Anglia*; Being first presented by the President to the Magistrates and Ministers, and by him, upon their Approbation, solemnly admitted unto the same degree: and a Booke of Arts delivered into each of their hands, and power given them to read Lectures in the Hall upon any of the Arts, when they shall be thereunto called, and a liberty of studying in the Library.

All things in the Colledge are at present like to proceed even as wee can wish, may it but please the Lord to goe on

with his blessing in Christ, and stir up the hearts of his faithful and able Servants in our owne Native Country and here (as he hath graciously begun) to advance this Honourable and most hopefull worke. The beginnings whereof and progresse hitherto (generally) doe fill our hearts with comfort, and raise them up to much more expectation of the Lord's goodness for us hereafter, for the good of posterity, and the Churches of Christ Iesus.

Your very loving friends, &c.

BOSTON in New England, September the 26, 1642.

A Copie of the Questions given and maintained by the Commencers in their publick Acts. Printed in Cambridge in New-England, and reprinted here verbatim as followeth:—

Spectatissimis Pietate, et Illustrissimis Eximia

Virtute Viris, D. *Iohanni Winthropo*, incolytæ Massachu-

setti Coloniz Gubernatori, D. *Iohanni Endicotto* Vice-

Gubernatori, D. *Thom. Dudleo*, D. *Rich.*

Bellinghamo, D. *Ioan. Humphrydo*,

D. *Israel. Stoughtono*.

Nec non Reverendis pientissimisque viris *Ioanni Cottono*, *Ioan. Wilsono*,

Ioan. Davenport, *Tho. Weldo*, *Hugoni Petro*, *Tho. Shepardo*, Col-

legij *Harvardensis* nov. *Cantabr.* inspectoribus fidelissi-

mis, cæterisque Magistratibus, & Ecclesiarum ejus-

dem Coloniz Presbyteris vigilantissimis.

Has Theses Philologicas, & Philosophicas, quas Deo duce, Præsides

Henrico Dunstero palam pro virili propugnare conabuntur,

(honoris & observantiæ gratia) dicant consecrantque

in artibus liberalibus initiati Adolescentes.

Benjamin Woodbrigius.

Georgius Downingus.

Gulielmus Hubbardus.

Henricus Saltonstall.

Iohannes Bulkleius.

Iohannes Wilsonus.

Nathaniel Brusterus.

Samuel Bellinghamus.

Tobias Bernardus.

Theses Philologicas.

GRAMMATICAS.

1. Linguarum Scientia est utilissima.
2. Literæ non exprimunt quantum vocis Organa efferunt.
3. Hæbræa est Linguarum Mater.
4. Consonantes & vocales Hæbreorum sunt coætaneæ.
5. Punctationes chatephatæ syllabam proprie non efficiunt.
6. Linguarum Græca est copiosissima.
7. Lingua Græca est ad accentus pronuntianda.
8. Lingua Latina est eloquentissima.

RHETORICAS.

1. Rhetorica specie differt a Logica.
2. In Elocutione perspicuitati cedit ornatus, ornatui copia.
3. Actio primas tenet in pronuntiatione.
4. Oratoris est celare Artem.

LOGICAS.

1. Universalia non sunt extra intellectum.
2. Omnia Argumenta sunt relata.
3. Causa *sine qua non* non est peculiaris causa a quatuor reliquis generalibus.
4. Causa & Effectus sunt simul tempore.
5. Dissentanea sunt æque nota.
6. Contrarietas est tantum inter duo.
7. Sublato relato tollitur correlatum.
8. Genus perfectum æqualiter communicatur speciebus.
9. Testimonium valet quantum testis.
10. Elenchorum doctrina in Logica non est necessaria.
11. Axioma contingens est, quod ita verum est, ut aliquando falsum esse possit.
12. Præcepta Artium debent esse Κατὰ πάντος, καθ' αὐτό, καθ' ὅλον πρῶτον.

Theses Philosophicas.

ETHICAS.

1. Philosophia practica est eruditionis meta.
2. Actio virtutis habitum antecellit.
3. Voluntas est virtutis moralis subjectum.
4. Voluntas est formaliter libera.
5. Prudentia virtutum difficillima.
6. Prudentia est virtus intellectualis & moralis.
7. Justitia mater omnium virtutum.
8. Mors potius subeunda quam aliquid culpæ perpetrandum.
9. Non injuste agit nisi qui libens agit.
10. Mentiri potest qui verum dicit.
11. Juveni modestia summum Ornamentum.

PHYSICAS.

1. Corpus naturale mobile est subjectum Phisicæ.
2. Materia secunda non potest existere sine forma.
3. Forma est accidens.
4. Unius rei non est nisi unica forma constitutiva.
5. Forma est principium individuationis.
6. Privatio non est principium internum.
7. Ex meris accidentibus non fit substantia.
8. Quicquid movetur ab alio movetur.
9. In omni motu movens simul est cum mobili.
10. Cælum non movetur ab intelligentijs.
11. Non dantur orbes in cœlo.
12. Quodlibet Elementum habet unam ex primis qualitatibus sibi maxime propriam.
13. Putredo in humido fit a calore externo.
14. Anima non fit ex traduce.
15. Vehemens sensibile destruit sensum.

METAPHISICAS.

1. Omne ens est bonum.
2. Omne creatum est concretum.
3. Quicquid æternum idem & immensum.
4. Bonum Metaphysicum non suscipit gradus.

[The following are the Theses of the Class of 1643:]

Illvstrissimis Pietate, et vera Religione, Virtvte,
et Prvdentia honoratissimis Viris, D. *Iohanni Winthropo*,
cæterisque unitarum Nov-Angliæ Coloniarum Guberna-
toribus, & Magistratibus Dignissimis; Vna cum
pientissimis, vigilantissimisque Eccle-
siarum Presbyteris:

Nec non omnibus nostræ Reip. literariæ, tam in Veteri quam in Nov-
Anglia, Fautoribus benignissimis:

Has Theses Philologicas & Philosophicas, quas *συν* Θεῷ, Preside *Hen-
rico Dunstero* palam in Collegio Harvardino pro virili
propugnare conabuntur (honoris, observantiae et
gratitudinis ergo) D.D.D. in artibus libe-
ralibus initiandi Adolescentes.

Iohannes Ionesius.

Samuel Matherus.

Samuel Danforthus.

Iohannes Allinus.

Theses Philologicæ:

GRAMMATIC.

- i Linguæ prius discendæ, quam artes.
- ij Linguæ fœlicius usu, quam arte discuntur.
- iiij Linguarum Anglicana nulli secunda.
- iiij Literæ diversæ sonum habent diversum.
- v C. et T. efferre ut S. in latinis absurdum.
- vi Sheva nec vocalis est, nec consona, nec syllabam e . .
- . . Nullæ diphthongi pronuntiandæ ut simplices vo . . .
- . . Syllabarum accentus non destruit tempus.
- ix Verba valent sicut nummus.
- x Synthesis est naturalis Syntaxis.

RHETORIC :

- i Rhetorica est affectionum domina.
- ij Eloquentia naturalis excellit artificialem.
- iiij Apte loqui praestat quam ornatè.
- iiij Vel gestus fidem facit.

LOGIC :

- i Dialectica est omnium artium generalissima.
- ij Efficiens & finis non ingrediuntur rei essentiam.
- iiij Forma simul cum re ipsa ingeneratur.
- iv Posita forma ponuntur essentia, differentia & actio.
- v Et motus et res motu factae sunt effecta.
- vj Oppositorum ex uno affirmato alterum negatur.
- vij Relata sunt sibi mutuo causae.
- viiij Contradictio topica negat ubique.
- ix Privantia maxime dissentiunt.
- x Genus et species sunt notae causarum et effectorum.
- xi Omnis syllogismus est necessarius ratione formae.
- xii Omnis quaestio non est subjectum syllogismi.
- xiiij Methodus procedit ab universalibus ad singularia.

Theses Philosophic:

ETHIC :

- i Foelicitas moralis est finis Ethices.
- ij . . . unum actum non generatur h . . .
- iiij . . . itus non pereunt sola actuum ce . . .
- iv perfecta dari potest, vitium n . . .
- v causa est liberum arbitrium.
- atus in individuo . . .
- amentu . . .
- viiij Vulgi mos non reget nos.
- ix Est abstinens qui continens.
- x Honor sequentem fugit, fugientem sequitur.
- xi Divitiæ nil conferunt foelicitati morali.
- xij Nulla est vera amicitia inter improbos.

PHYSIC :

- i Nihil agit in seipsum.
- ij Omnis motus fit in tempore.
- iiij Non datur infinitum actu.
- iiij Pura elementa, non sunt alimenta.
- v Non datur proportio arithmetica in mixtis.
- vi In uno corpore non sunt plures animae.
- vii Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte.
- viiij Status animae in corpore est naturalissimus.
- ix Visio fit receptione specierum.
- x Phantasia producit reales effectus.
- xi Primum cognitum est singulare materiale.

METAPHYSIC :

- i Ens qua ens, est objectum metaphysices.
- ij Ente nihil prius, simplicius, melius, verius.
- iiij Datur discrimen inter ens et rem.
- iv Essentia entis non suscipit magis et minus.
- v Veritas est conformitas intellectus cum re.

Cantabrigiæ, *Nov. Ang., Mens. 8, 1643.*

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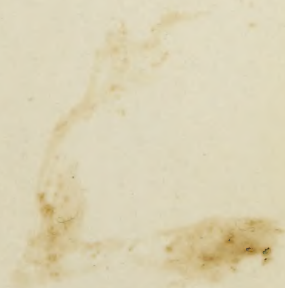
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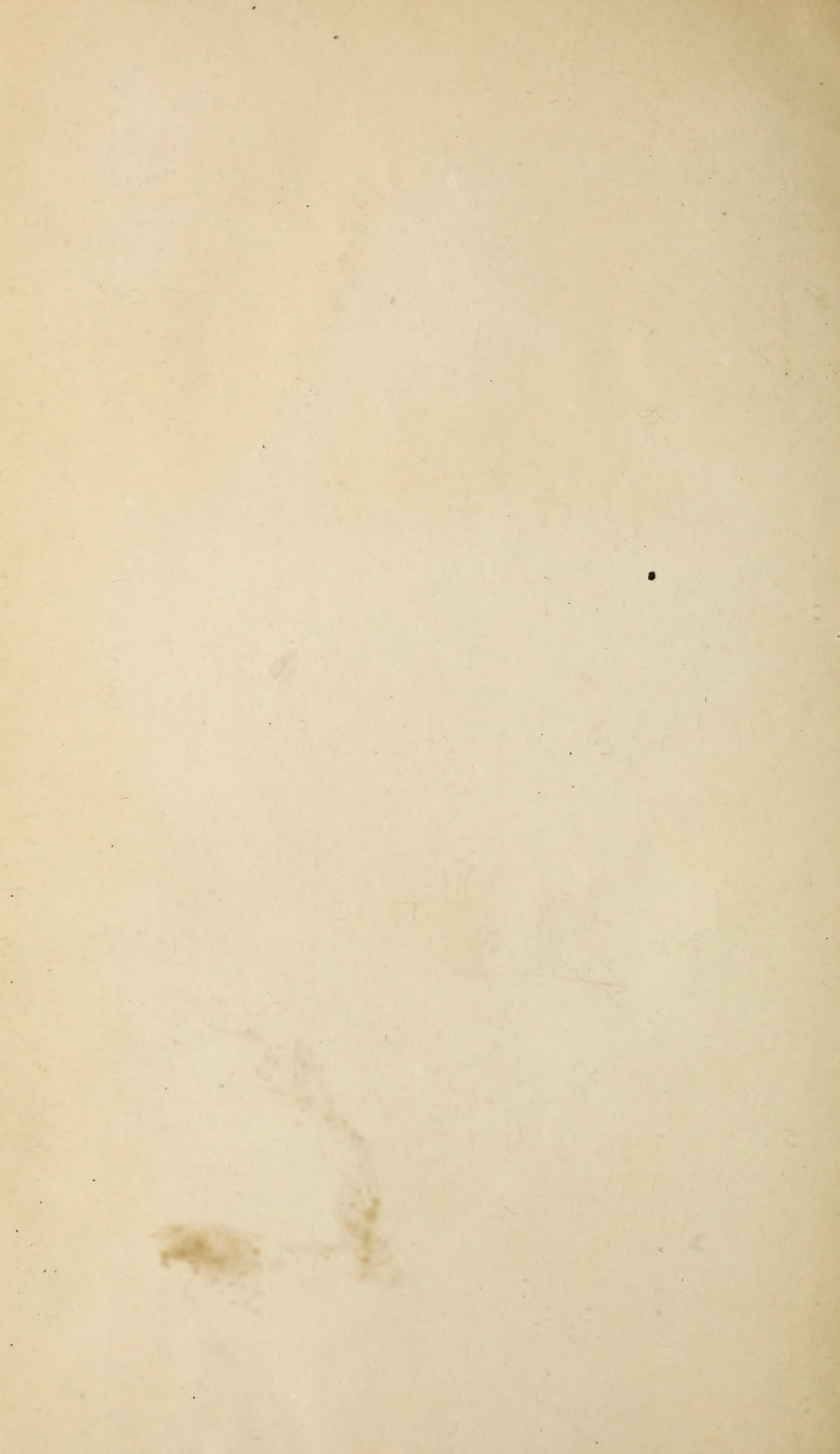
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